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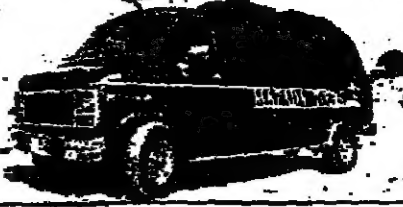
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Maccabi TA over
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Special
Tu Bishvat issue

The Magazine



Mel Gibson
gets mad

Time Out

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IDF begins Hebron redeployment

Knesset OKs Hebron pact

By LIAT COLLINS

After a 12-hour debate, the Knesset yesterday endorsed the Hebron agreement by 87 to 17, with one abstention. Moledet decided against filing a no-confidence motion and late last night a roll-call vote was held only on the agreement itself, including the accompanying documents.

Two votes on the faction statements by Moledet and the National Religious Party, which both opposed the agreement, failed by a large majority.

Those who voted against the agreement included: the NRP MKs — ministers Zevulun Hammer and Yitzhak Levy, and MK Avraham Stern, absentees themselves; Moledet, Likud's Ze'ev Begin, Haim Dayan, Uzi Landau, Moshe Feled, Michael Kleiner, David Re'em and Ruby Rivlin; and Yisrael Be'aliya MKs Michael Nudelman and Yoni Stern. United Torah Judaism's Samuel Halpern abstained. National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon was absent.

Communications Minister Limor Livnat, Agriculture and Environment Minister Rafael Eitan, and Absorption Minister Yuli Edelstein supported the agreement in the Knesset, although they voted against it in the cabinet Wednesday night.

In his concluding statement, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said he believes the decision will be seen as the right one in the current reality and that he hopes to see future peace agreements with the Palestinians and with Arab states.

The special session opened at 11 a.m. with a statement by the prime minister, attended by President Ezer Weizman, whose presence emphasized the fact that a fateful debate was taking place.

Netanyahu stressed the idea of the "different goals" of his government compared to its Labor predecessor.

"We're committed to the written agreements; we are not bound by the spoken word [of the previous government]. Our goals and phi-

Who will replace Begin?
Page 2

losophy are completely different," he declared. "We do not want to take the Jewish settlement out of Hebron. We want to preserve and consolidate it. We don't want to cut ourselves off from Hebron; we want to stay in Hebron."

Netanyahu added that the negotiations on the agreement had ensured the inclusion of clauses to make this possible.

"The agreement today is, of course, much broader and much more detailed... We ensured buffer zones; we made sure to distance the guns; we ensured IDF presence in the [hills] above the Jewish settlement and via joint patrols on the [main] routes."

He called the Hebron Jewish residents "our brothers and sisters" and stressed the importance of the City of the Forefathers as "the rock of our existence."

"I can state with confidence, without a doubt, that this is a better, safer, more responsible agreement than the one we received [from Labor]," he said.

Netanyahu said Israel had insisted on three principles during the negotiations on Hebron: reciprocity; that Israel would be the sole determinant of the further redeployments; and that the time frame allow room for maneuvering.

"We're using the space we have in this agreement to attain our goals: to preserve the unity of Jerusalem; to ensure the security areas necessary to protect the state; to stand firm on the right of Jews to settle in their land and offer the Palestinians reasonable arrangements of self-rule without the sovereign rights that could endanger the State of Israel."

The prime minister was frequently heckled, noticeably by MK Eli Goldschmidt (Labor).

"You're a big boy. Stop blaming your parents," Goldschmidt said when the premier started to talk of the poor inheritance Labor had left the new government.



Soldiers attach the hook of a crane to a guardpost in Hebron yesterday, preparing to lift it onto a truck and move it out of the city as part of the IDF pullback.

And an almost comical interlude occurred when MK Dalia Itzik (Labor), busy distributing copies of Netanyahu's speech as opposi-

tion leader on the Oslo Accords, started to heckle him from the floor, causing Netanyahu to counter.

"Dalia Itzik is Indira Gandhi and Golda Meir combined," he said.

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By ARLEN O'SULLIVAN

Hundreds of Palestinians, some shouting "Hebron is ours!" cheered as army trucks laden with equipment rumbled, horns blaring, out of the IDF military headquarters, as Israel began the long-delayed redeployment in Hebron.

Col. Jibril Rajoub, head of the Palestinian Preventive Security Service, arrived at the military headquarters late last night. Palestinian security men had worked for several hours before his return to keep local residents away from the building.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced at a press conference last night that the redeployment would be completed by this afternoon, before Shabbat.

Some 40 Jews marched to Yishai's Tomb to recite psalms and hold a prayer vigil. The army later declared all areas to be handed over to the Palestinians a closed military zone, banning entry by Israeli civilians.

At the Palestinian Child Arts Center, some 200 Palestinian policemen crowded into a small hall to don their new navy-blue uniforms. They stood in front of mirrors, adjusting their berets and flattening their creases, waiting for the orders to move.

Outside, a plainclothes officer from Rajoub's Preventive Security Service handed out dozens of German-made MP-5 submachine guns to security men.

OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan said that while permission had been granted to remove equipment from the bases to be handed over to the Palestinians, the soldiers were to remain until the order was given to vacate them.

That was expected to come following the Knesset approval of the Hebron agreement. It was not clear last night whether the soldiers would begin pulling out during night.

"The moment we get the order we will try to carry out the redeployment as quickly and as properly as possible and transfer to the Palestinians the places which the IDF is to vacate," Dayan said.

The IDF late last night issued nearly a dozen administrative orders against right-wing activists in Kiryat Arba and Hebron.

The orders, according to Itamar Ben-Gvir, one of the heads of Kach's successor organization, the

Stormy PA Council meeting,
Page 3

Row over letters of assurance,
Page 20

Ideological Front, ranged from orders for house arrest to forbidding travel to Hebron.

Word of the impending orders was leaked out beforehand, and many of those for whom the orders were intended were not at home when the police came to deliver them. Among those to have received an order was Baruch Marzel, who left home before the police arrived.

Marzel, talking from a hiding place "somewhere near Hebron," said that the orders are unnecessary, since he knows of no plans to try and disrupt the Hebron redeployment or provoke the Palestinians. Marzel said the orders were just a way for the GSS to "cover themselves" in case there is an incident in the city.

Marzel said that when the police came to his home in Tel Rumeida to deliver the order, his wife tore it up.

Dayan and Maj.-Gen. Gabi Ophir, commander of IDF forces in Judea and Samaria, met late last night in Hebron's new District Coordinating Office to discuss the transfer of 80 percent of the city to the Palestinians. The IDF commanders reportedly asked the Palestinians to order their forces to refrain from celebrating by firing their guns into the air and burning the Israeli flag.

Dayan said the list of the 400 Palestinian policemen who are to take up positions in the city was given to the IDF and that each policeman had passed a security check.

Earlier in the day, joint Israeli-Palestinian patrols held dry runs in the city, senior security sources said.

Hebron has been under heavy IDF guard lately and military sources said patrols were increased to prevent any attempts by extremists on either side from disrupting the redeployment.

At the military headquarters, soldiers loaded trucks with cement blocks, desks, and gas balloons, and dismantled watchtowers and even the front gate to prepare for

Continued on Page 2

New 'Post' appointments

F. David Radler, president and CEO of Hollinger International and chairman of the board of The Jerusalem Post, announced the appointment today of Yehuda Levy as vice chairman-Jerusalem Post. Radler also announced the appointment of Norman Spector as president and publisher of The Jerusalem Post, reporting to the chairman. Both appointments take effect May 1. Full report, Page 5.

Massive search for Kahalani's mother

By RAINE MARCUS

Central District police, led by Cmdr. Zev Even-Hen, launched a massive search yesterday evening for Sara Kahalani, the mother of Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani.

Sara Kahalani, 78, who suffers from Alzheimer's disease, was last seen leaving the Margot Old Age Home in Ness Ziona, where she resides, at 1:30 p.m. yesterday. When she failed to return, it was reported to police, who, together with volunteers, launched a search for her at around 5:30 p.m.

Some 120 police and volunteers searched the surrounding fields and citrus groves for the woman. Shopping malls and residential areas were also searched. A helicopter also joined in the operation.

Kahalani himself left the Knesset to participate in the search and Insp.-Gen. Assaf Hefetz and other police brass joined in.

Sara Kahalani is 1.6m. tall, heavily built, has short hair and was wearing yellow slacks, a beige sweater, and slippers. Anyone who thinks they may have seen her is asked to call the nearest police station.

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Tel Aviv	4:40 p.m.	5:40 p.m.
Haifa	4:29 p.m.	5:37 p.m.
Beer Sheva	4:40 p.m.	5:39 p.m.
Edet	4:43 p.m.	5:44 p.m.

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Silvan Shalom likely to assume Begin's science portfolio

By SARAH HONIG

Science Minister Ze'ev Begin's resignation will take effect at midday Saturday, with Silvan Shalom being touted as most likely to assume the portfolio.

Shalom, along with Tzahi Hanegbi and Limor Livnat, was one of the first to support Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's quest for the Likud leadership. Shalom refused to comment on the matter yesterday.

Meanwhile, MK Michael Eitan, who is eager to win the appointment, noted his own high placing in the Likud primaries, while MK Shaul Amur warned that "the government will face dire consequences if I am not appointed."

Just before 1 p.m. yesterday, Begin dispatched a one-line letter that said: "I hereby tender my resignation from the government."

Begin demonstratively took his seat among the Knesset backbenchers during yesterday's debate on the Hebron agreement, even though a minister's resignation does not take effect until 48 hours after his or her resignation letter is submitted.

Though other ministers who voted against the agreement Wednesday night said they would remain in the government, Begin said that he could not.

"I respect them for their decision but I personally think otherwise and more importantly I feel otherwise," Begin said.

"Collective responsibility would oblige me to support the government's decision and I cannot do so. I said that when I cannot serve in full faith I will step down and now the time has come."

Begin said he is not disenchanted with Netanyahu, for whom he campaigned.

"I don't feel I made a mistake in the last elections and I don't make light of the difficulties the prime minister encountered upon taking



Ze'ev Begin addresses the Knesset yesterday, telling why he opposes the Hebron agreement.

office," he said.

"But this is not personal. It is a difference of opinion."

"The greatest danger is inherent in the original Oslo Accords. We will hand over more and more slices of our homeland to terrorists who will make them havens for terror and we will make the situation far more difficult for ourselves when all this will blow up. The explosion will indeed come, unless we utterly capitulate."

He noted that just as he had been right in the case of the failed appointment of Roni Bar-On as attorney-general - he was the only minister to vote against the appointment - so the other ministers "will come to understand the reality of the agreement they have now approved and if they don't understand, Arafat will explain it to them."

Finance Minister Dan Meridor, Begin's closest ally in the government, expressed regret over Begin's resignation.

He said he had "known in advance what Benny planned to do and all my attempts to dissuade him were in vain. I agree with Begin about the dangers inherent in the Oslo process but they are a fait accompli and we must now make the best of a bad situation. Without Benny this government will be different and none the better in quality, because Benny is a rare breed."

Netanyahu's next toughest critic inside the government's Likud contingent might now be Livnat, despite her decision to support the Hebron deal in the Knesset.

Like Begin, she also said she does not regret supporting Netanyahu in the elections.

"I would wholeheartedly do it again despite the disagreement now," she said. "Netanyahu is indeed better for the Jews than [Shimon] Peres or now [Ehud] Barak. The trouble is with the disaster of the original Oslo Accords."

Likud members attack PM

By LIAT COLLINS

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu gave Likud-Gesher-Tsomet MKs freedom to vote according to their consciences and not party lines on the Hebron agreement yesterday, but told the faction that the important thing is for the whole party to present a united front after the vote and before the negotiations on the permanent arrangements.

He did not rule out the possibility of the Palestinians raising problems over the interpretation of the further redeployments. He also clarified that "mid-1998" does not refer to a specific date but to a period including June, July and August. He said this appears in an accompanying letter which US chief negotiator Dennis Ross wrote to Cabinet Secretary Danny Naveh.

The Likud faction meeting, most of which was open to the press, ranged in tone from congratulatory - at the entrance of Foreign Minister David Levy whose son got married on Wednesday - to bitter, when the MKs got down to business.

MK Michael Kleiner was the first to attack the premier saying: "My feeling is the only thing we have managed to achieve is an 11-month delay."

MK Ruvy Rivlin asked whether the process could lead to any outcome other than a Palestinian state and Deputy Education Minister Moshe Peled frequently interrupted faction chairman Michael Eitan and the prime minister.

Netanyahu assured Rivlin that Israel would not "sit on its hands" if the Palestinians declare a state.

Ze'ev Netanyahu Begin, having submitted his resignation from the post of science minister, sat quietly at the back of the room. Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and Eitan both called on him to reconsider his resignation.

Communications Minister Limor Livnat, who voted against the agreement in the cabinet on Wednesday, asked Netanyahu what was written in the letter the US secretary of state sent to Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat. The prime minister

said the US had told him it sent similar letters in content and wording to Israel and the Palestinians.

Uzi Landau, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, said the government was talking about reciprocity but not taking action even against Palestinian violations in Jerusalem.

It was Netanyahu's former rival Levy who came to the prime min-

told his faction that he would vote in favor because "the moment the majority has decided, the minority has two options: to leave the decision of the majority or to leave the government." He said if the government had to depend on Labor's vote, the government would be forced to follow a leftist policy.

Labor also met several times, although leader Shimon Peres did not break off a visit to the US for

Knesset votes on previous peace agreements

Agreement	Date	In favor	Against	Abstentions
Camp David Agreement	September 27, 1993	84	19	37
Oslo I, September 24, 1993		61	18	21
Oslo II, October 9, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo III, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo IV, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo V, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo VI, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo VII, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo VIII, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo IX, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo X, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XI, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XII, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XIII, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XIV, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XV, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XVI, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XVII, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XVIII, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XIX, October 22, 1993		55	15	30
Oslo XX, October 22, 1993		55	15	30

ister's defense in an speech in which he called on the Likud MKs to consider the alternative: a government led by Shimon Peres handling the talks on the permanent negotiations.

Other factions also held meetings yesterday. The National Religious Party decided their ministers would be absent for the vote and the MKs would vote against. The NRP will reconsider its partnership in the coalition every three months according to the government's actions promoting settlement in Judea, Samaria and Gaza and construction in Jerusalem.

Tsomet leader Raphael Eitan

the debate and vote. Most Labor MKs described the agreement as the end of Revisionism in the Likud and a posthumous victory for Yitzhak Rabin.

MK Yossi Beilin, a candidate for the party leadership, said the faction should vote for the agreement. "We owe it to our voters." But he warned of the possible problems if the US becomes the only interpreter of the agreement.

MK Ephraim Olshaya disagreed, saying a vote in favor of the agreement would only promote the Netanyahu government for another four years. He described the prime minister as "a swindler."

Morocco praises accord

By DAVID RUDGEMAN

Morocco's King Hassan told Prime Minister Netanyahu yesterday he hopes the Hebron agreement will lead to a just and durable peace in the Middle East. An Israeli official said this was the first direct contact the king had made with Netanyahu since he was elected prime minister last May.

The Moroccan News Agency issued an open message last night to the prime minister in the name of the monarch: "It is with real satisfaction that we received the news of the agreement, which took place between yourself and President Yasser Arafat... We are pleased and advanced by the understanding which this agreement will promote and we wish that the future - relieved of the past - will finally open serious prospects for a just and durable peace."

Hassan told Arafat in a separate message he hopes the accord would open the way for Palestinians to

take the remaining steps leading to the realization of the aspirations for which they have fought."

Meanwhile, Lebanese leaders expressed concern over the Hebron accord yesterday, saying Israel might put political and military pressure on Lebanon to try and reach security arrangements over the south, now that its attention is no longer centered on the Hebron issue.

President Elias Hrawi was quoted in Beirut newspapers as calling on security forces to "keep your eyes open in case of acts of sabotage like those Lebanon and Damascus." Similar comments were made by Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and Foreign Minister Faris Bouweze. "Israel might now feel comfortable enough to put pressure on Syria and Lebanon," Bouweze was quoted as saying.

Senior Hizbullah sources criticized the Palestinians for signing the Hebron accord, which they said had "buried the dreams of an independent Palestine."

David Makovsky contributed to this report.

Winning cards and numbers

IN yesterday's daily Chance drawing, the winning cards were the jack of spades, the jack of hearts, the ace of diamonds and the 10 of clubs. In last night's weekly Paysa Hazak drawing, the holder of ticket number 087553 won NIS 1 million, while ticket 156740 was good for a new car.

Those holding tickets ending in 065366, 603655, 284405, 127668, 487975, 131519, 166337 and 393437 all won NIS 5,000. Tickets ending in 73623, 17026, 48119, 10151, 77214, 26366, 84886, 93696, 00373, 31245, 91183, 56093, 96257, 69551, 26450, 98768, 01592, 07936 and 74258 all were good for NIS 1,000. Those ending in 683, 815, 725 and 985 were good for NIS 100; in 26, 85, 90 or 51, NIS 30; in 63 or 80, NIS 20; and in 3 or 5 NIS 10.

KNESSET

Continued from Page 1

"She always has something to say... Every time she chirps something new."

MK Ehud Barak, a candidate for the Labor Party leadership, responded to the premier for the opposition. The focus of his response was on the legacy of assassinated prime minister Yitzhak Rabin.

"From today, you are leading the Oslo Accords in deeds and not just words. For this you deserve and have our praise. Moreover, every additional step you take courageously, responsibly, and with integrity in this direction,

will be accompanied by our blessing and support," Barak said.

"Today is also a day of victory: victory of the peace camp; victory of the way of the Labor movement; victory for the foundations laid by Shimon Peres; and victory for the legacy of Yitzhak Rabin, may he rest in peace, the man whose vision, courage and integrity moved the wheels of the peace process, the beginning of the process of separation from the Palestinian people, and our focussing on Galilee, the Negev, and the [underprivileged] neighborhoods."

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid also placed the emphasis in his speech on Rabin, calling on Netanyahu to sign the agreement with the slain premier's pen, "because you are signing with his spilled blood."

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IDF

Continued from Page 1

the withdrawal. The British-era fortress was a bustle of activity last night as women soldiers piled onto armored Safar transports, like those used in Lebanon, for their final ride out.

At the Zehavit Junction, soldiers stood guard as a crane removed an army observation tower from atop a roof overlooking the intersection.

During the day, heavy rains and thick fog kept most people indoors. In the cashbar, a few merchants huddled around a fire in a barrel, stoking it with wood as they watched soldiers patrol.

But by nightfall, the rain slackened and many Arab residents took to the street and headed to mosques for prayers after breaking the fast. Anticipation among many Palestinians turned to joy as they saw tanks pulling out of the military headquarters.

"Yalla! Yalla! Yalla!" shouted young boys. Others waved large photos of Yasser Arafat and cars honked their horns as stone-faced soldiers stood, their weapons poised, in vehicles heading for their new quarters.

"Of course I will celebrate, but the happiness won't be complete until the Israelis evacuate all of the city," said Mohammed Mayallah, a 35-year-old merchant.

Herb Keiron and Tim contributed to this report.

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Palestinian police examine their new uniforms at their headquarters south of Hebron yesterday.

PA councilors decry lack of debate

By JON IMMANUEL

While the Knesset was furiously debating the Hebron protocol yesterday morning, members of the Palestinian Authority Legislative Council were furiously demanding to know why no representative of the PA's executive had come to Ramallah to address them.

Several members walked out of the meeting in protest before Saeb Erekat, the chief PA negotiator and a member of the council, hurried over to give them copies of the protocol in English. There was no official Arabic translation for those who did not understand English.

The Oslo Accords give the 88-member council no jurisdiction to approve or disapprove agreements between Israel and the PA, but some of the councilors said that, since they are the elected representatives of the people, they should be treated with the respect the people deserve.

"It is more than lack of communication. The council should have

been informed, but it was not. The council ought to know what takes place," said Ziad Abu Amr, a Gaza independent who walked out first, followed by Dr. Haidar Abdel-Shafi and others.

A recent poll of the Palestinian Center for Research and Studies asked 1,307 Palestinians whether they had any contact with their representatives directly, by mail, or by telephone, and 91.5 percent said no. Only 10.7% evaluated the councilors' performance as "very good." The PA executive (19%), the police (28%), and Arafat himself (40%) all got better marks.

An earlier vote in Gaza by the Palestinian leadership - about 50 members of the cabinet, council, and PLO executive - was considered representative enough. Council member Abdel-Jawad Salah, who considers himself in the democratic opposition despite being the agriculture minister, was one of the few who did oppose it in Gaza on Wednesday. He told the Voice of Palestine

yesterday, "Hebron was partitioned, the Israelis are in charge of civilian and administrative affairs [in H-2]. There is recognition that the Ibrahimiyeh Mosque [Tomb of the Patriarchs] is Jewish."

Hebron was not the only issue on which the council felt bypassed. The PA, yet to allow the council to ratify a constitution, apologized for a third time for not submitting its budget as required under the unratified constitution.

Salah Taamari, another popular democratic opposition member, suggested a vote of no-confidence in the finance minister. Nobody knows if it passed and nobody thought it mattered if it did.

Some of those most opposed to the Hebron agreement precisely because it was imposed by superior force see Israel as a shining light in the more important matter of democratic procedures.

"People are impressed by Israeli democracy, especially when it comes to transparency and accountability," Abu Amr said.

BACKGROUND

Hebron faces tricky civil spats

By JON IMMANUEL

With attention focused on settler security in Hebron, little notice has been given to the civilian arrangements, which are vastly more detailed in the new protocol than they had been in the Oslo 2 accord.

But these details, rather than clarifying matters, may mean more potential points of conflict and misunderstanding, now that things have been written down, they are subject to different interpretations. For example, while the protocol says that the height of new Arab buildings 50 meters and 100 meters from Jewish homes must be limited to two and three stories respectively, it says nothing about the height of Jewish buildings.

"The civil administration can authorize 20 stories added to Beit Hadassah if it wants," said Shlomo Drot, spokesman for outgoing government coordinator in the territories Maj.-Gen. Oren Shohat.

The relevant clause says that "civil powers and responsibilities... relating to Israelis and their property shall continue to be exercised by the Israeli military government."

Hebron Mayor Mustafa Natshe denies this gives Israel a carte blanche on construction. While there can be discussions, "No Israeli building can take place without municipal permission because the division of the city into H-1 and H-2 does not divide the city's municipal authority."

"Responsibility" is thus taken to mean that Israel is responsible for ensuring that the settlers cooperate with the municipality. Other articles make the government the settlers' guarantor. For example, to ensure that settlers receive prompt service from the municipality when their water pipes burst, the PA is obliged to fix pipes serving Israeli dwellings "as a top priority" if the government agrees to pay for the work.

To ensure that the PA does not plunge settlers into darkness, the PA must give the Israeli District Liaison Office 48 hours' notice of any plans which would affect Israeli daily lives, like cutting electricity and water or blocking roads for maintenance.

Cutting off the settlers' utilities as an act of intimidation is considered unlikely, as Israel could retaliate by cutting off power and telephone communications to the Gaza Strip.

Clinton thanks King Hussein, Mubarak for help on Hebron

By HILDE KUTTLER and news agencies

US President Bill Clinton yesterday thanked Jordan's King Hussein and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak for their support for the agreement between Israel and the Palestinians in Hebron.

National Security Adviser-designate Samuel Berger told network radio reporters that Clinton made morning phone calls to the

two leaders thanking them for their roles.

Berger said the Hebron deal would not have been possible without Hussein's intervention and Mubarak's support. Hussein kept talks between Israel and the Palestinians from collapsing last weekend with a compromise proposal.

Mubarak also had a telephone conversation with Syrian President Hafez Assad yesterday.

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Sons of Abraham

By JON IMMANUEL

"What explosions of eloquence would have followed upon the partition plan that left Israel without Hebron," wrote historian Barbara Tuchman, referring to the British Parliament in 1850.

Unfortunately, when influential Englishmen supported the emergence of a Jewish homeland of the kind that Gush Emunim would like, they couldn't find enough Jews to support them.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 represented the tail end of this British Zionist movement and, soon afterwards, perfidious Albion lopped Hebron off the planned Jewish homeland.

If the Six Day War seemed to change that destiny, it was, like the French aircraft that won it, a mirage. What might have been could not return. In 1850, there were 600 Jews among 5,000 Arabs in Hebron. In 1895, Jews were 1,400 among 14,000, but by 1936 there were no Jews in Hebron.

If local Jews become political equals, they might just fit into the city.

Few Jews went to live there under the influence of modern Zionism.

The city of Abraham, second in sanctity to Jerusalem, was the only one of the four halcyon Jewish towns in the Land of Israel which did not come under Israeli rule at all in 1948.

But the Arabs, in effect, had already won it. When Israel conquered Hebron in 1967, it counted 38,309 Arab residents. Today there are more than 100,000, not including those living in the burgeoning suburbs.

Under Israeli rule, the desire to restore Hebron as a place of Jewish religious pilgrimage was natural. The Labor government blessed it, while ensuring that Jews lived in Kiryat Arba, to balance religious yearnings with political and demographic reality. But the desire to live inside Hebron was strong, compounded by memories of the massacre of 1929, and the Arab uprising of 1936 which encouraged the British to end the Jewish presence there.

The Sabbath massacre in the Hebrew year of *Tarpar* provided a valuable lesson to Zionism. The 450 Jewish residents of Hebron in 1929 were not armed. Nor were they Zionists, and they turned down armed help from the Hagana, preferring to rely on their neighborly relations with the Arabs. The slaughter of 67 men, women and children prefigured the gullibility of Jews in Europe, who did not understand the forces of hatred around them in the decade that followed *Tarpar*.

If the Holocaust influences the mentality of even the most liberal Israeli, Hebron Jews have picked themselves in it. Haj Amin

Husseini, the mufti of Jerusalem who instigated the Hebron massacre in 1929, was a collaborator in the Nazi final solution by 1942.

It took another Sabbath massacre, this time of six settlers in 1980 who were armed but still helpless, to encourage the Likud government to allow settlers to move into Hebron, finally locking their religious and political ambitions in place.

Settler relations with Arabs in Hebron are imbued with deep distrust and contempt. Nowhere is this more evident than among the children. In Tel Rumeida, they live inches from each other, but it is obvious who is the more indoctrinated against the other. It is always the Jewish child who rebuffs the Arab child that wants to play.

Although the enclave where Jews will continue to live is larger than the Jewish quarter in 1929 and will have a heavier IDF presence than it has now, what really worries them is that the government is handing over political supremacy in the city.

In their own eyes, Hebron's Jews remain the last real Zionists, the spearhead of Zionism's political claim over the entire Land of Israel, which, once compromised, means that all Israel is weakened. Hebron in 1968 was the spiritual and physical mother of the settlements. From it, they derive their legitimacy.

Hebron's Jewish roots are deeper than Jerusalem's. "It is the world's oldest Jewish community," says Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. This is true, but it was not a continuous community and in every other way the Jews there have only a tenuous grip on the town compared with Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is the ancient capital; its Jewish history is well documented; its holy places are separate from Moslem holy places. Jews have been a majority in Jerusalem since the late 19th century, and it is not legally part of the West Bank.

The Jews in Hebron followed the fate of the Jews in Jerusalem. By the third century, they were gone. Those who came to live there again in the 16th century found it thoroughly Islamized. To this day it is the most Islamic of all Palestinian towns.

Before nationalistic conflict stirred Jews and Arabs, many Jews there did not seek to compete with Islam. They went to be near the cave only to find that the Moslems had appropriated Abraham as their own.

"Abraham was not a Jew because Judaism only began when Moses received the Torah at Mount Sinai," Moslems say. "Abraham was a pure monotheist who did not know Torah. Since



A Jew passes Arab men on the steps of the Cave of Machpela in the days before entrance was segregated. This photo was taken in 1980.

Islam has always been the true monotheist religion which Mohammed simply brought to the Arabs, Abraham was in fact a Moslem, as was Adam as well." This view adds to the conflict a religious intensity that is not present even in Jerusalem.

Holy places in Jerusalem are well demarcated thanks to the Western Wall which draws all but the most extreme Jews away from the Temple Mount itself on which Moslems planted two mosques.

But in Hebron, the Tomb of the Patriarchs, which Palestinians call the Ibrahim Mosque, is bitterly fought over by Jews and Moslems, and no way has been found to demarcate what is holy to Jews from what is holy to Moslems.

The tomb/mosque controversy would be explosive enough even if the claim was limited to that building. But it is only a starting point and the most radical settlers insist that Hebron itself is inherently Jewish and that their religious rights must also mean political mastery.

They describe Arabs who have lived in Hebron for centuries as usurpers, house-minders or babysitters of the tomb/mosque and of Hebron as a whole.

They would have found a sympathetic voice among many British parliamentarians 130 years ago, brought up on an Old Testament-oriented Christianity, their view of Islam informed by their abhorrence of the Ottoman Empire.

Even if Zionism were viewed favorably by Hebron Arabs, they would still resent the overweening self-righteousness among settlers they see in Hebron.

Some say they could live with them if they put down their arms and acted "like the Jews who used to live here, or like the Jews of Tel Aviv, like normal people."

But if they were like Tel Aviv Jews, they would not live there and trusting their neighbors is precisely what the settlers believe killed off Hebron's previous

Jewish community. They may be right to be suspicious. Few Hebron Arabs want them and fewer consider it reasonable that the IDF remain in control of 20% of the city just because 400 Jews choose to live there and not one kilometer up the road among 6,000 other Jews in Kiryat Arba.

The number of Hebron Arabs remaining under IDF control is almost as many as the 25,000 who live in Kiryat Arba, which Israel considered sufficiently well-populated by Arabs to warrant turning over completely to the Palestinian Authority.

The likelihood of violence is great since the most violent elements on both sides have an interest in showing that the moderates are wrong. Both sides will want to show that the other side started the violence, but both sides need little provocation to hit back twice as hard.

The greatest test will be at the tomb/mosque. What divides Jews and Moslems there is also what they have in common. Abraham is a common ancestor. Neither Jews nor Moslems permit graven images in their houses of worship, which is why Jews can worship there.

In fact, the Tomb of the Patriarchs should be neither mosque nor synagogue. Hebron is a classic case of politics distorting religion. Neither Jews nor Moslems conduct regular prayer services in cemeteries. But the cave passed from Jewish to Christian to Moslem control over nine centuries, and after Saladin's victory over the Crusaders in the late 12th century, Islam went on a spurge of building which turned the tomb into a full-fledged mosque.

Some traditional Moslem clergy, such as 14th century North African sage, Ibn Haj el-Abdi, objected. "The grave of El-Khalil (Abraham) may really be near the door and then it will turn out he is

treading on it when he is walking." He was ignored, but Moslems did ban non-Moslems from advancing beyond the seventh step up to the building.

If the aim of Israel in 1967 was to show Moslems that the era of Saladin was at an end, opening the cave to Jewish prayer services was a potent jibe of the kind it resisted in Jerusalem, where it was, more self-confident of its rights.

The Tomb of the Patriarchs became a battlefield. In 1968, Moslems ripped and burned Torah scrolls and looted graves at Jewish worshippers. Relations deteriorated to the point where a Jew could bring himself to gun down 29 kneeling Moslem worshippers praying during Ramadan near Isaac's Tomb.

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Jerusalem's elder sister

By HERB KEINON

When Moshe Levinger and a group of activists funded by the Land of Israel Movement moved into Hebron's Park Hotel on April 4, 1968, less than a year after Hebron was conquered without a fight in the Six Day War, they were staking claims to a city with roots deeper in Jewish history than any other.

They also moved into the heart of a hostile city populated at the time by nearly 40,000 Arabs. It is a mix that never worked.

Hebron, Al-Khalil, The City of the Patriarchs. It is a city which, according to official estimates, has 120,000 Arabs and 500 Jews. Kiryat Arba, which is right next to Hebron, has another 6,000 Jews, and some of their homes look onto homes in Hebron.

This area is as rich in Biblical imagery as can be found anywhere. Hebron is sometimes lyrically referred to as a "Mirror of Jerusalem" or as "Jerusalem's Elder Sister," terms reflecting the historic and physical parallels between the two cities that are some 30 minutes' drive apart.

Hebron is first mentioned in Genesis 23:2. "And Sarah died in Kiryat Arba, that is Hebron, in the Land of Canaan; and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her." The chapter then goes on to retell how Abraham bought the Machpela Cave from Efron the Hittite for a family tomb.

The Bible records that the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are buried in the tomb, as are the Matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca and Leah. Jewish tradition has it that Adam and Eve are buried there as well.

In addition to its link with the Patriarchs, Hebron is where King David began his kingdom.

"David was 30 years old when he began to reign, and he reigned 40 years," it says in the Book of Samuel II (5:4-5). "In Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months; and in Jerusalem he reigned 33 years over all Israel and Judah." Hebron is one of Judaism's four sacred cities, the others being Jerusalem, Safed and Tiberias. In addition to the Tomb of the Patriarchs, Hebron also contains the following Jewish holy sites: The tomb of Omiel Ben

Kenaz, the first judge; the tomb of Avner Ben-Ner, general and confidant to Saul and David; and the tombs of Ruth and Jesse, David's great-grandmother and father. The ancient cemetery also houses the graves of a number of prominent rabbis.

Jews continued living in Hebron, even after the fall of the First Temple.

Hebron is the resting place of the patriarchs, and also David's general Avner Ben-Ner, Ruth and Jesse.

The present structure, encompassing the Machpela Cave was built by Herod, and it's stonework is strikingly similar to that of another Herodian structure: the Western Wall.

During the revolt against the Romans, Hebron was the scene of heavy fighting, but Jews continued to live there after the revolt, through the Bar-Kochba revolt and into the Byzantine period.

After Arabs conquered the city in 638, they converted the fifth-century Byzantine church at the cave into a mosque. The new rulers were more tolerant toward the Jews than the Byzantines, whose harsh measures included forbidding the Jews to pray in the tomb.

Like the Jews, Arab attachment to the city is also rooted in Abraham. The Arabic name for Hebron, Khalil al-Rahman, means "friend of Allah the Merciful," referring to Abraham, the father of Ishmael. The Arabs have lived in Hebron continuously for 13 centuries.

The Crusaders, when they captured Hebron in 1100, kicked the Jews out of the city and turned the mosque back into a church. The Jewish community was reestablished in 1260 following the Mameluke conquest, when the tomb was turned back into a mosque. The Mamelukes were less tolerant than the previous Arab rulers. Their 1266 decree - in force until 1967 - barred Jews from entering the tomb, and allowed them to climb only to the fifth, and later the seventh, step outside the eastern wall.

The city was conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, but this was marked by a violent pogrom. The surviving Jews fled to Beirut, and did not return until 1533. In 1540, Sephardim bought the site of what is today the Avraham Avinu Synagogue.

Throughout the Ottoman period, despite poverty and a devastating plague in 1619, the Hebron Jewish community prospered, with Jews coming from around the country and the world. The city became a rabbinic center of note, and some of the most important kabbalists from Safed moved there at the end of the 16th century.

In 1807, the community purchased a five-dunam plot, upon which the wholesale market stands today. In 1811, 800 dunams of land were acquired to expand the cemetery. By 1838, there were some 700 Jews in the city, despite a pogrom in 1834; the number reached 1,500 at the end of the century. An important contribution to the city was made by Habad hassidim, many of whom came to the city at the urging of their spiritual leader, the Mitzer Rebbe, in the early part of the century.

In 1870, a wealthy Turkish Jew, Haim Yisrael Romano, moved to Hebron and bought a plot of land upon which his family built their home and a guest house. That structure, Beit Romano, today houses the Shavei Hebron Yeshiva. The building housed a synagogue and yeshiva, before

Continued on Page 20

City of violence

Since the mid-1980s, there have been several violent incidents in the city. The worst include:

- July 7, 1983 - Yeshiva student Aharon Gross was attacked and stabbed by three Arab youths near the market. He died of his wounds.
- July 25, 1983 - Jewish terrorists opened fire on the Islamic University, killing three and wounding another 50.
- October 25, 1992 - A soldier was shot and killed while guarding the Machpela Cave's perimeter. Two other soldiers were wounded.
- May 28, 1993 - Yeshiva student Ezer Shinnar was stabbed to death some 500 meters from the Machpela Cave while on his way there for Friday evening prayers.
- December 12, 1993 - Moshe and Shalom Land, a father and son, were shot to death by terrorists at the Zohar Junction.
- February 2, 1994 - Kiryat Arba resident Ramon Goldstein killed 29 Moslem worshippers in the Machpela Cave, and wounded 125.
- July 7, 1994 - Seventeen-year-old Sarit Prigal was shot to death in a drive-by killing near the entrance to Kiryat Arba.
- March 19, 1995 - Nahum Hoss, 31, of Hebron's Yeshiva Partus, 34, of Kiryat Arba were killed when the bus they were riding in was ambushed near the Zohar Junction.

Continued on Page 20



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Mordechai saves Polish deal

By STEVE RODAN

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai resolved a difficult last night that appeared to have jeopardized a potentially lucrative Polish military contract, when he rescheduled a meeting he had canceled hours earlier with his visiting Polish counterpart.

Polish Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski was upset last night when Mordechai, involved with the Knesset vote over the Hebron accord, canceled their meeting in Tel Aviv. Dobrzanski suggested that perhaps the Polish defense contract, estimated at \$600 million, was not important to Israeli politicians.

"From the technical point of view, I was able to see a lot of interesting things, both at ELOP and Elbit, as well as at an air force base," Dobrzanski said. "When we talk of political issues, unfortunately, my expectations were not met. Maybe that was connected with the events of the last few days and hours."

"This surprised and worried me," Dobrzanski said, pointing out the keen interest of Israeli defense firms in Polish military contracts. "The Israeli politicians didn't devote as much time to my visit as I expected."

But hours after the cancellation, Mordechai rescheduled his meeting with

Dobrzanski for this morning in Jerusalem, where the Polish visitor will also meet with Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak. From Jerusalem, Dobrzanski heads for Gaza.

"Everything has been resolved," a Polish defense official accompanying Dobrzanski said after the rescheduling of the meeting.

Mordechai's spokesman, Avi Benayahu, said the defense minister tried hard to keep his appointment yesterday, but in the end he was kept in Jerusalem by the Knesset vote as well as his supervision of the IDF pullout from Hebron.

"The defense minister wanted very much to see him," Benayahu said. "But because of

his tight schedule at the Knesset and with the redeployment, he asked that [ministry director-general] Ilan Biran and [Mordechai's adviser] David Ivry meet with the Polish defense minister. Both Biran and Ivry are very senior officials," Dobrzanski said he examined Israel's defense modernization program, particularly that of air force equipment. A consortium of Israeli companies - Elbit, ELOP, and Rafael - is bidding to upgrade the Polish Huzar helicopter, manufactured by WSK Swidnik of Lublin. The main competitor for the upgrade's avionics is the US company Rockwell International Corp. Rafael does not have any competition for the air-to-surface missiles for the Huzar.

Swiss bank stored Jewish art loot

ZURICH (Reuters) - The Union Bank of Switzerland, under fire for shredding Second World War documents, stored stolen paintings for the Nazis and was suspected by the Allies of providing them with large amounts of Swiss francs, according to US government documents released yesterday.

The documents were released by the World Jewish Congress, as a debate raged in Switzerland over whether the bank's shredding of documents from a subsidiary contained information about accounts held by Jews before and during the war.

The documents released by the WJC charged that UBS, one of Switzerland's biggest banks, stored paintings stolen from prominent Jewish collectors, including masterworks by Van Gogh, Cezanne and Jan Steen, until they could be picked by a middleman working for agents of Hitler's henchman Hermann Goering.

The WJC also released documents sent from the secretary of state to the U.S. Embassy in Bern, alleging that UBS was accused only to credit Suisse in violating the Allied "Code of Conduct" in dealing with the Axis powers.

The 1945 documents also said that the Union Bank violated "the less rigid regulations" which the Swiss banking industry put into effect in September 1944. The documents cited a two-week period of intercepts as showing that UBS "provided the enemy" with \$603,205 Swiss francs, about \$150,000 at the time.

Meanwhile, American Jewish leaders today said they would stress that UBS's destruction of the Holocaust-era records was "intolerable."

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) also urged Swiss politicians and banks to treat a security guard who discovered the shredding as a hero for rescuing some documents and making the incident public.

"It would have thought that from the highest levels of this country, one would have heard a voice of outrage [at the shredding]," ADL national director Abraham Foxman told a news conference yesterday after his group met Bernese politicians, including Foreign Minister Flavio Cotti. "I don't hear the voices of outrage, I hear excuses, and I don't see the celebration of this security guard as a hero," he said.



Tribute to a fallen leader

Meretz Party leader MK Yossi Sarid places a bouquet of flowers at the grave of slain prime minister Yitzhak Rabin before yesterday's Knesset vote on the Hebron agreement.

Histadrut aims to restart Haifa Chemicals talks

By DAVID RUDGE

A last-ditch effort is being made to restart the negotiations between management and workers in the long-running Haifa Chemicals dispute, amid reports the firm's owner, Arye Genger, is considering closing the plant.

Histadrut Chairman Amir Perez called on the company to hold marathon talks until a compromise solution is reached to ensure the future of the plant and the jobs of over 400 workers.

The company has reportedly lost between \$11 million and \$15m. because of this latest

strike and earlier disruptions that have virtually shut down production since last October.

Genger, who lives in the US, is reportedly considering closing the plant - which manufactures potassium nitrate, used as a fertilizer - and transferring production to competitors' factories in Chile, to assure that customers' orders can be filled.

Histadrut officials, however, described the reports as part of the psychological war against the workers and the union in the negotiations over a new collective labor agreement.

In another dramatic development yesterday, the chairman of the Histadrut's Haifa district

branch, Baruch Zaltz, announced that he was pulling out of the stalled negotiations.

Workers have criticized Zaltz for making too many concessions to management, even though the talks broke down over the Histadrut's refusal to accept management's demands to fire 30 "problematic" workers, in addition to 60 who have agreed to take early retirement.

By last night, management had not responded to Perez's call to resume negotiations. The Histadrut plans to disrupt work at Haifa Chemicals' other factory south of Beersheba, if no progress is made.

New 'Jerusalem Post' appointments

F. David Radler, president and CEO of Hollinger International and chairman of the board of The Jerusalem Post, announced the appointment today of Yehuda Levy as vice chairman.

"As a result of the success we've achieved, and our interest in expanding our presence in Israel, I am pleased to announce the promotion of Yehuda Levy to this new position. Mr. Levy will report directly to me to build on the solid franchise he has developed over the last eight years in this key Hollinger International division," Radler said.

Radler also announced today the appointment of Norman Spector as president and publisher of The Jerusalem Post, reporting to the

chairman. "Norman is uniquely suited to this post, given his distinguished career in public service, his strong academic training, and a first-hand knowledge and experience in the region," Radler said.

The appointments are to take effect on May 1. Spector began his career in the public sector in 1975 and later served as deputy minister to the premier of British Columbia. In 1986 he joined the federal government, serving in various capacities including Canadian ambassador to Israel from 1992-95. Spector holds a BA (Hons) from McGill University; an MS from Newhouse School of Communications at Syracuse University; and an M.Phil. and PhD from Columbia University.



Yehuda Levy (David Ben-Zur)

He speaks English, French and Hebrew with a knowledge of the Russian and Arabic. His column on foreign affairs is published nationally in Canada by the Globe and Mail.

"I have followed this region directly and indirectly throughout my career, and I am very enthused by this opportunity to further the progress of The Jerusalem Post within Israel and internationally," Spector said.

Hollinger International, through subsidiaries and affiliated companies, is a leading pub-

lisher of English-language newspapers in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Israel. Included among the 142 paid daily newspapers that the company owns or has an interest in are the Chicago Sun-Times and The Daily Telegraph.

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NEWS

in brief

Famous haggada given to National Library

A 14th century German haggada, known as the Wolff Haggada, has finally come to rest at the National and Hebrew University Library.

Polish Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz presented the rare book to the library's chief librarian, Prof. Israel Schatzman, at Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon's office on Wednesday.

Inscribed on vellum and profusely illustrated, the haggada belonged to Berlin's Jewish community. Stolen on Kristallnacht in November 1938, it reappeared after the war in Warsaw's Jewish History Museum. In 1984 the haggada was stolen again. In 1989 two Jewish merchants tried to sell it at public auction in Geneva, swearing that they had come by their treasure honestly. The Polish government, the World Jewish Congress and the Berlin Jewish community sued to get the haggada back, agreeing that if they won the case, the Wolff Haggada would be brought to Israel. Three months ago the trial ended in victory.

Helen Kaye

Hospital sanctions stopped after agreement

Sanctions at Wolfson, Assaf Harofeh and Barzilai hospitals were called off suddenly yesterday afternoon after the Finance Ministry reached an agreement with the administrative and maintenance workers' union.

Labor peace returned when Yossi Cohen, the Treasury's deputy wage chief, finally signed an agreement adding employees to the existing list of those entitled to special duty pay.

The union, representing 9,000 government hospital workers, had been protesting the Finance Ministry's "broken promises," regarding the duty allowances, which had previously been approved by an interministerial committee. Although the Health Ministry confirmed that such a commitment had been made, the Finance Ministry remained mum throughout the dispute.

Judy Siegel

Immigrant doctors to remain at posts

More than 500 immigrant doctors, who had been threatened with dismissal at the end of this month, will be able to continue working until they complete their specialization, the Absorption Ministry spokesman said last night. At a meeting yesterday, the director-general of the absorption, health and finance ministries allocated NIS 30 million - from the budgets of all three ministries - which will cover the doctors' pay until the end of their period of specialization.

The last of the 527 doctors will complete specialization at the end of 1999. Earlier, the Yisrael Ba'alya faction had called on the prime minister to dismiss Health Minister Yehoshua Matza unless a solution was found.

Batseva Tsor

MDA brings woman back from dead

By JUDY SIEGEL

A 23-year-old woman being prepared for sinus surgery in a private hospital in Beersheba suddenly went into cardiac arrest yesterday, but was brought back to life by a Magen David Adom team called into the operating room.

The young woman, who had been put under general anesthesia, suddenly suffered an irregular heartbeat, her blood pressure fell, and she became clinically dead for "a reason that was not clear," according to MDA.

The surgeon and anesthesiologists in the operating room at the Maccabi health fund's Ramat Marpeh day hospital immediately tried to resuscitate her with electric shocks to the heart and special drugs.

The staff also called MDA, which is the standing order in such cases at such a facility.

A MDA mobile intensive care team - Dr. Leonid Kaufman, paramedic Carmel Cohen, and driver/medic Danny Ben-Haroush

arrived and "took over" the resuscitation effort.

Using the same type of equipment available in Ramat Marpeh, they performed more electric shocks, gave her adrenalin and atropine, and after 15 minutes, her heartbeat was restored.

She was rushed to Soroka Hospital, where she was still unconscious and in serious but stable condition last night.

A Ramat Marpeh spokesman said the woman, who was healthy before the operation except for the sinus condition, underwent a battery of tests before the surgery.

"It is well known that complications can occur, in rare cases, from anesthesia," she said.

Cohen, who has been an MDA paramedic for eight years, said that being called into a hospital operating room and bringing a patient back to life after the hospital staff were unable to do so is extremely rare.

"I had tears in my eyes, seeing this healthy young girl in such a condition. But I was glad that the resuscitation succeeded."

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The Hebron agreement

A debate is raging as to whether the Hebron agreement negotiated between Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat is better, worse, or the same as the original Oslo Accords negotiated by the previous government. The answer is that the agreement has the potential to benefit both sides and become a positive landmark in the peace process as a whole. Whether or not this potential is realized depends on it being implemented more faithfully than previous agreements.

Regarding the agreement on Hebron itself, it is arguable whether there is an improvement in the security arrangements from Israel's perspective. Israel insisted on a number of restrictions on the Palestinian Police, but these are the same police that are expected to help the IDF protect Israelis from attack.

The primary determinant of the security of Israelis in Hebron will not be the agreement, but a political decision by Arafat to prevent, rather than instigate or support, riots against the Jewish presence there. The role of Arafat and the Palestinian Police in September's violence demonstrates that if a political decision is made to resort to violence, Palestinian commitments to the contrary will not prevent it.

It is the fact of the agreement, more than its content, that reduces the likelihood of a repeat of the events of last September. Then, the opening of a new exit to the Western Wall Tunnel was used as an excuse for violent protests. It was quickly admitted by Palestinians that the perception of a freeze in the peace process was the real reason for the violence.

The Hebron agreement, particularly the added Israeli commitment to implement the further redeployments required by Oslo, temporarily inoculates Israel against the charge that the Netanyahu government will not continue the process. The minute Israel is perceived to be dragging its feet again, however, it is hard to see how the new Palestinian commitments to non-violence will hold any faster than the previous commitments did.

In general, it seems that the Palestinians have succeeded in selling Israel the same bridge over and over again. Arafat first renounced terrorism in December 1988, leading to the opening of the first US-PLO dialogue. However, the intifada continued until Arafat renounced violence again in the 1993 Declaration of Principles — the beginning of the Oslo process. In August 1995, Arafat signed the Cairo agreement, which committed the Palestinians to actively combat terrorism against Israel.

Now, once again, the Palestinians have undertaken to combat, and not to incite, violence. In fact, all of the commitments included in the Note for the Record attached to the agreement are simply reiterations of commitments made in the Oslo Accords. Indeed, the old chestnut of

revising the Palestinian Covenant, which the Palestinians previously insisted they had already done, also makes an appearance.

So what, in the end, was accomplished? The Palestinians' main achievement was to enfold a Likud government into a process which they believe will lead to a Palestinian state. Israel's main accomplishment was to delay Oslo's further redeployments until roughly midway into the planned final status talks. This partially rectifies a major problem in Oslo for Israel: that Israel would relinquish control over substantial amounts of territory before final status talks had even begun.

One major price Israel has paid along the way is the heightened American role in the talks. Even US negotiator Dennis Ross, usually the first to downplay his own role, said that the US had moved from being a "facilitator" to becoming a "broker." The US has gone back to submitting "bridging proposals" — something it has studiously avoided since the Madrid Peace Conference of 1991.

At Madrid and ever since, Israel has worked hard to limit the US mediating role, in order to force the Arab parties to negotiate with it directly, rather than pushing the US to pressure Israel. But the Hebron agreement could not have been reached without the deepened US role, and both sides are grateful for the American commitment to the process. In principle, the current US role amounts to a step backward for Israel and — given the central role of US guarantees in the current agreement — it does not look like the situation will change in the near future.

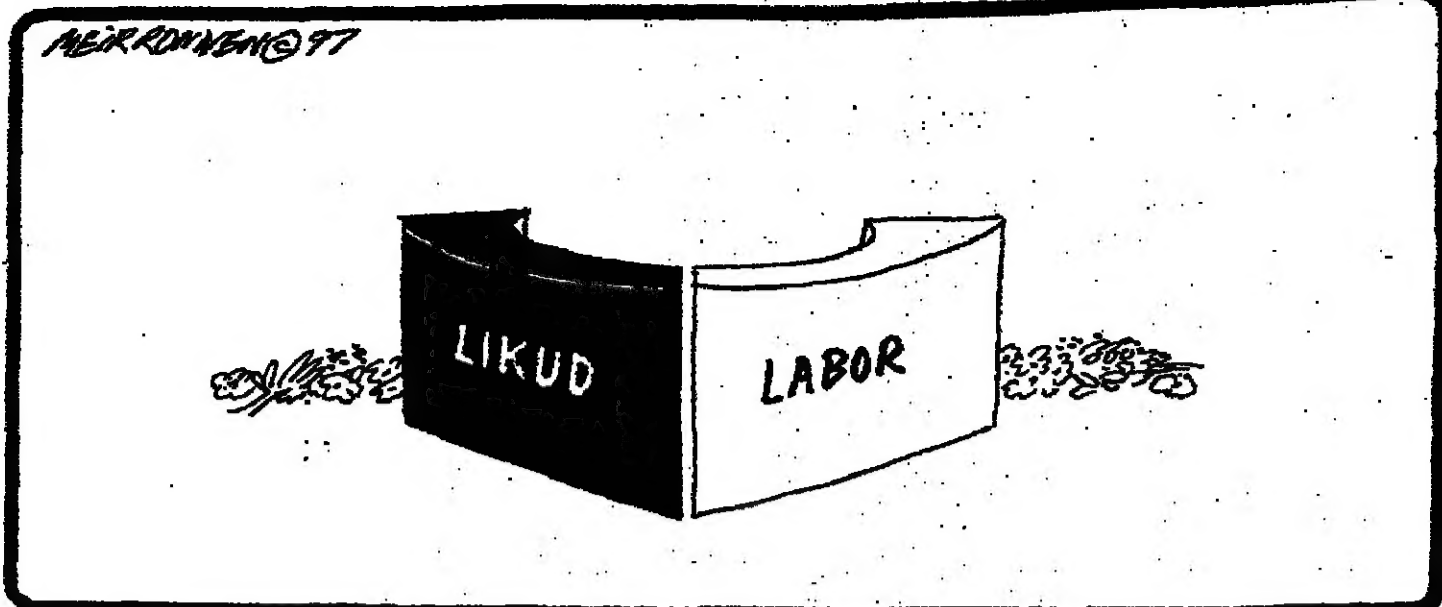
Balancing this, and masked by the bitter opposition of the right wing in the Knesset, is the fact that the Israeli public is more unified in support of this agreement than at any time since the euphoria surrounding the first Rabin-Arafat handshake on the White House lawn. A poll published in *Yediot Aharonot* yesterday found that 67 percent of Israelis support the accord and only 25 percent oppose it.

The same agreement, if reached by the previous Peres government, would no doubt have been opposed by about half the Knesset and half the citizens of Israel. Just as only Nixon could go to China, and only Begin could give up the entire Sinai (and dismantle Yamit), only Netanyahu can withdraw from most of Hebron and leave two thirds of Israel behind him.

But so long as Netanyahu is perceived as only reluctantly pursuing peace, the diplomatic benefits of his concessions and the Israeli consensus will never fully coalesce.

Most importantly, he will not have the power to enforce the concept of reciprocity that he has correctly championed, and that eluded the previous government. While he is very clear about what is not his path to peace, he has yet to explain his positive vision of peace and how he wants to get there.

At Rabin's grave



Yes — there is life after Hebron

ABBA EBAN

The Oslo agreement emerges as one of the most astonishing documents in diplomatic history.

Revised by its opponents, it forced its way into the center of national policy through the sheer logic and realism of its principles. It could not have triumphed if the alternatives had not been exhausted first.

The alternative to Oslo would have been the renewal of an attempt to suppress Palestinian nationhood in a way that has become so anachronistic as to defy all the currents of contemporary political culture.

It would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the alternative to the Hebron accord and the Oslo agreement would, sooner rather than later, have been a war in which Israel would face a united Arab world.

That war would have been fought with weaponry of the new technological age. Israel would not have had an ally in a war which would result from a failure to implement a valid international agreement.

The US would undoubtedly have done what would be necessary to assure Israel's survival in resistance to the assault, but the starting point of the American position would have been the duty to implement international agreements.

We are moving into an era in which the viability of an armed

action is determined very largely by international legitimacy.

Despite the victories of Israeli diplomacy in its numerous struggles, the fact remains that Israel, under Labor or Likud governments, has never been able to retain permanent control over any territory in which its positions were not validated by international law — not even in tiny Tabat,

and disused Palestinian. The rule of one nation over another is the only proven possibility of the modern age. Israel can influence the future, but cannot dictate it.

Binyamin Netanyahu deserves a less reluctant applause than he has so far received from his former critics. We are going forward by going back — back to the partition, but not to the boundaries which

Binyamin Netanyahu deserves a less reluctant applause than he has so far received from his former critics

which the Shamir government renounced.

This predetermines the attitude of world opinion to the permanent annexation of the Golan, leaving only the West Bank and Gaza as situated in an area of legitimate doubt.

But even here, the commitments of previous Israeli governments, which were decisively sustained by domestic opinion, place the future in the hands of negotiators, not of those who were ever open to far-reaching changes of previous jurisdictions.

For Israel to have resisted the tide would have marked our nation as a laggard, clinging to old ideas

enabled Israel to achieve its first breakthrough to realism and lucidity.

Between 1947 and 1949 Israel celebrated its most dramatic transition, from unprecedented anguish to unexpected salvation. At one end the Jewish people was besieged, solitary and more savagely assaulted than any people in history. Within two years, Israel was an established sovereignty with open gates, wide recognition and an expanding circumference of friendships.

This was the result of its leaders' capacity to make a realistic compromise to a desperate overreaching of its powers.

The task today is, first of all, to recapture the positions which an intemperate Likud diplomacy endangered in the recent past.

When the last election took place Israel had creative relations with Egypt, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Morocco, Tunisia, Oman, Qatar, a diminution of the Saudi-led boycott, and every opportunity of expanding its friendships in North Africa and the Gulf Region.

Reckless rhetoric and superfluous initiatives (who remembers the tunnel at the end of the light?) arrested the momentum.

The lesson for Israel is that neighboring coexistence ensures greater security than distant cordiality.

One of the urgent tasks is to supersede an electoral system so fraught with inherent absurdity as to put a hopeful future out of reach. Meanwhile, there is an undercurrent of tragedy. Was Yitzhak Rabin's death really necessary if his policies (which I supported long before he embraced them himself) proved inexorable in the end?

He is a lonely non-survivor of a malice-ridden incitement campaign. Netanyahu should rescind his own terrible sentence accusing Rabin of "personal responsibility" for Israel's losses.

The writer is a former foreign minister.

So who are the real 'thought police'?

MORTON A. KLEIN

Everyone agrees that there are certain individuals who should not be given a platform at Jewish functions. The question is where to draw the line: that is, which individuals should be invited to speak to Jewish groups, and which ones should not.

We at the Zionist Organization of America believe that pro-Israel organizations should not invite hostile critics of Israel, such as *New York Times* correspondents Thomas Friedman and Anthony Lewis to be their speakers.

When Lewis spoke at AIPAC's 1995 conference, and when Friedman spoke at the Anti-Defamation League's 1996 dinner, all that ZOA and I did was express our disagreement about their choice of speakers. In responsible, respectful language we explained our point of view.

We did not attempt to intimidate anybody. We did not try to disrupt those events. We simply exercised our right to free speech.

Yet Neal Sher (AIPAC's former executive director) and Abraham Foxman (national director of the ADL) have launched a campaign to muzzle us and deny our right to express our view as to the wisdom of their choices.

In a blatant attempt to silence us by utilizing the tactic of defamation and name-calling, Neal Sher in these pages called the ZOA "bullies," "intimidators," and "thought police," and referred to "Klein's mud."

Foxman publicly called me "an attack dog of the thought police," said I am "in the gutter," and urged that I be "ostracized" and "expelled from the organized Jewish world." He vowed: "I am going after Mort Klein." (*Forward*, November 29, 1996)

Ironically, Sher and Foxman, who are supposedly devoted to fighting defamers of Israel, have themselves provided platforms for defamers of Israel, and are now themselves engaged in defaming the ZOA.

Foxman also recently condemned the ZOA and myself for criticizing Strobe Talbott (we opposed his nomination as deputy secretary of state because he wrote 16 anti-Israel articles for *Time* magazine, including one in which he compared Israel to Iraq; US Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk (we expressed our concern over his boycott of the Jerusalem 3000 opening ceremony); and journalist Leonard Fein (we criticized him for publicly calling Prime Minister Netanyahu "evil").

Instead of condemning the ZOA

for criticizing Talbott, Indyk, and Fein, Foxman and the ADL themselves should be combating such defamers of Israel.

Therefore one might ask: Who are the real "Jewish thought police" — those of us who express our opinion about American Jewish groups inviting speakers who are hostile to Israel, or those who try to prevent us

Israel to a higher standard than I do its neighbors," he told the *Washington Jewish Week* on March 11, 1993.

And Lewis has whitewashed Egyptian hostility toward Israel. For example, after visiting Egypt in 1992, he declared: "I found no hint of hostility when Israel was mentioned." (*New York Times*, February 6, 1992)

Instead of condemning the ZOA and myself, Neal Sher and Abraham Foxman should be attacking defamers of Israel like Thomas Friedman and Anthony Lewis

from exercising our right to express our opinions?

And why do Sher and Foxman feel compelled to rush to the defense of individuals who are so hostile to Israel?

While Sher, incredibly, calls Anthony Lewis and Thomas Friedman "honorable men committed to Israel's security," Norman Podhoretz, the esteemed former editor of *Commentary*, just last month pointed out that Lewis and Friedman "take delight in attacking and defaming Israel."

Indeed, Foxman himself has described Lewis in these terms: "Stale rhetoric and platitudes that blame Israel for current obstacles... downplaying the Palestinian-based factors that have led to the delay in further implementation of Palestinian self-rule... assigning Israel the primary responsibility for the deterioration of the peace process... [to Lewis] Israel always seems to be the party most deserving of blame."

No wonder, consider Anthony Lewis's record. Lewis has circulated false allegations against Israel. One of the most notorious was a May 15, 1982 column in the *Times* claiming that Israel had banned 2,000 books, including works by Shakespeare, in the administered territories. (*The Jerusalem Post* later exposed the book-banning claim as a complete falsehood.)

Lewis makes no secret of his pro-Arab leanings: "I'm very sympathetic toward the Palestinians, who are the genuine underdogs, with no land and no government," he said in an October 1991 interview with the *Dade Jewish Journal*.

Lewis uses a double standard in judging Israel's actions: "I do have a double standard. I hold

Lewis ignored the frequent appearance of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish articles and cartoons in Egypt's government-controlled press, as well as the many other incidents demonstrating official Egyptian hostility toward Israel and Jews.

Thomas Friedman is no more friendly to Israel than Lewis. Foxman's claim that Friedman's views "are always expressed within the context of support for the State of Israel" is simply mistaken.

Although Friedman's defenders have tried to portray him as merely a critic of the Likud's policies, Friedman has actually been attacking Israel for more than 20 years, regardless of whether Israel was ruled by Likud or Labor or both. And Friedman's close relationship with James Baker when he was secretary of state is something that should trouble Likudnik and Laborite alike.

According to Baker's recent autobiography, Baker often consulted Friedman on Mideast issues; and it was Friedman who came up with the idea to have Baker publicly humiliate Israel in 1990 by announcing "When you're serious about peace, call us," and giving out the White House telephone number.

As recently as his November 20,

1996, *New York Times* column, Friedman urged that the US return to the days of having a "James Bakeresque" secretary of state, someone with a "taste for knuckle-breaking" in dealing with Israel.

No wonder Kenneth Bialkin, former chairman of ADL and of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said: "I happen personally not to favor [Friedman] as a keynote speaker. It's not a choice that I would have made." (*Forward*, November 29, 1996)

This is not an issue of free speech. Nobody is suggesting any restrictions on the right of Lewis and Friedman to say what they want. Indeed, they already have one of the most prominent platforms in the world, the op-ed page of the *New York Times*, from which they express their opinions twice each week.

We are simply saying that no organization has an obligation to give a platform to someone who is hostile to Israel.

And this is all the more true for organizations that are pro-Israel. The ADL and AIPAC say they support Israel and its prime minister; they should not give platforms to those who regularly defame Israel and its prime minister.

Abraham Foxman of the ADL was wrong to give a platform to Friedman. Neal Sher was wrong to give a platform to Lewis at the 1995 AIPAC conference.

When important Jewish organizations such as the ADL or AIPAC invite a Friedman or a Lewis as their keynote speaker, it gives a false impression to the American public, Congress, and the White House that Friedman's and Lewis's views are shared by a large and important segment of the American Jewish community.

That is the wrong message to send — because it is false, and because it adds weight to Friedman's and Lewis's attacks on Israel.

The writer is national president of the Zionist Organization of America.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PIONEERS OF PEACE

Sir, — For all of us from the National Camp who voted Bibi into power, expressions of disappointment at his stand on Hebron are a luxury we can ill afford at this hour. Towns and areas have already been handed over to Arafat, cavalier fashion, by the previous government, as part of a peace agreement, the value of which was made clear for all to see in the September conflagrations. The task of our government now is to remind Nobel Prize winner Arafat and to keep reminding him that the life of every Jew has a price, as does every centimeter of the Promised Land, whether under our control or his.

Furthermore, it is of vital importance that public opinion focusing on the Jews living in Hebron be made to realize that they, these Jewish families, not the throwers of balloons or the singers of the Peace Anthem, are the authentic pioneers of peace and coexistence.

CELIA ULANOVSKY
Ginot Shomron.

SHOCKING REACTION

Sir, — Whilst reading your reports of the shooting in Hebron on January 1, I was particularly struck by the reaction of both Moshe Levinger and Tsomet chairman Eliezer Zandberg. They both justified their reasoning for Mr. Netanyahu not to withdraw from Hebron because, if a similar incident occurred after the IDF had withdrawn, there would be nobody there to prevent reprisal attacks on the Jewish settlers.

Surely their concerns and powers of persuasion would be much more usefully directed towards trying to ensure that Jews didn't come into Hebron (or anywhere else) armed and with the intention to kill Arabs. In this regard, the call by certain rabbis for soldiers to disobey orders on withdrawal from Hebron could very easily be misinterpreted (especially as Noam Friedman appears to have been mentally unstable) and lead to further such incidents, possibly with even worse results.

IAN FOUX
Herzliya.

COURAGEOUS SOLDIER

A State of Israel 49 years ago and attempt to settle a comparatively very small number of Jews amid hundreds of millions of "implacably ardent Moslems" in the center of the encompassing Arab world. Furthermore, if it seems logical for us Jews to believe that our

responsible soldiers jumped into the breach and protected innocent people should have been the focus of his cartoon, not the implied shame reflected in our bullet-ridden insignia, the jackboot of a soldier dying with a smoking rifle and the outstretched arm of a civilian

OBJECTIVITY

Sir, — On page 2 of your issue of January 2, you printed, against a different background to make it really jump to everyone's eye, "Jewish terror since 1990."

Common decency and a newspaper's objectivity ought to have prevailed, and you should have put, right next to it, Arab terror since 1990.

HANNAH BRANSON
Haifa.

GARIN MISHMAR

Sir, — We are currently researching a book about the Nabal experience of the company of new immigrants within Garin Mishmar who underwent basic training at Mahane Shimonim in January 1978. Veterans of that unit are encouraged to contact us to schedule interviews. E-mail should be directed to Sheli@aol.com or to psml@ix.net.com. Or write to us c/o 5901 Misty Court, Agoura Hills, CA 91301.

SHELDON TEITELBAUM
PETER MARGOLIS
Agoura Hills, Calif.

very presence is understandably intolerable to others here in this region, we might better become more "implacably ardent Jews" ... or quickly run away! I personally am not running.

ELAINE SHLOMOVIC
Jerusalem.

lying on the ground. In spite of what this misguided soldier did, I am proud of the courageous soldier who subdued him. Kudos to the army, not shame.

STAN KIMMEL
Neveh Ilan.

Sir, — I respect Oleg's ability as a political cartoonist, for as an artist and commentator on current events, he is in a class by himself.

However, in his cartoon of January 2, he apparently leaped to his drawing board too soon. The way that one of our young,

سجدة الصلاة

The signs were clear

MOSHE ZAK

They call it the Hebron agreement. In fact, it is a much broader accord, with far-reaching consequences. It fixes the dates of future IDF withdrawals in Judea and Samaria over the next 18 months.

Israel shouldn't have been surprised by the shift in the agreement's emphasis from Hebron to further withdrawals. The signs were on the wall.

I can still hear my Hebrew literature professor, Joseph Klausner, telling us: "If you see a gun hanging on the wall in Act I, you may be sure it will go off in Act III."

This image is highly applicable to the drama that has been playing itself out over a period of weeks and months: the accord with the Palestinians, and Israel's verbal fencing with Egypt and Syria.

The Syrian government's sudden decision to blame Israel for the bus bomb that went off recently in Damascus shouldn't be dismissed as some fanciful, absurd plot. It is part of the unfolding of a carefully worked-out script.

The Syrians know that the Saudi opposition was behind the explosion in Damascus, but they have their eye on the shot they will fire in the last act - in other words, Syrian terror against Israel.

In a newspaper interview this week Syria's deputy president explained that Syria doesn't want a war, because of the toll in human life. He didn't specify the alternative; but it is likely that the Syrian preference is for "remote-control terror" against Israel, via not only Hizbullah in south Lebanon, but also the Palestinian rejectionist organizations based in Damascus.

Thus there shouldn't be any surprise if it eventually turns out that Syria's accusing Israel in the bus episode was just part of a setup aimed at egging the terrorists on to strike against Israel.

The same principle goes for what Egypt's Mubarak has been saying.

At the beginning of the Hebron negotiations, while the Israeli and Palestinian teams were still dicker over issues like hot pursuit and buffer zones, Mubarak sent a hasty signal to Arafat that the objective must be not just Hebron - the agreement must also include other elements, namely, arrangements for the IDF's next three withdrawals from Judea and Samaria.

Mubarak got this message over not explicitly but indirectly. He said he would not meet with Netanyahu until all the withdrawals from most of the "territories" had been arranged. The withdrawal from Hebron wasn't enough.

Mubarak was really saying to Arafat: "Look how I deal with Netanyahu without risking confrontation with the Americans. You can go on negotiating with the Israelis about Hebron, but before you sign, you should demand assurances of the other withdrawals beyond Hebron."

It was no great effort for the Egyptians to sell Arafat these tactics - making a Hebron agreement conditional on Israel's committing itself

Israel should not have been surprised by the agreement's shift in emphasis to further withdrawals

to withdrawing from 90 percent of the territory within nine months.

Arafat settled for an American guarantee of Israel's commitment, but wouldn't agree at any price to a change in the timetable of IDF withdrawal from the rural areas of Judea and Samaria.

WHY DID he hold up the Hebron agreement? The answer is bound up in the same theatrical convention: The gun in Act I will go off in Act III.

The longer Arafat delayed the Hebron accord, the easier it would be to fulfill his dream of proclaiming a Palestinian state without the need for further negotiations with Israel, once he was already in control of more than 90 percent of the disputed territory.

During the weeks of protracted negotiations over Hebron, neither the Israelis nor the Americans paid enough attention to the shot that was to come. They argued furiously over every wrinkle in the security arrangements in Hebron, but failed to spot the land mine buried at the end of the negotia-

tions: The timetable of IDF withdrawal from Judea and Samaria.

The dates suggested by the two sides were not capricious choices, but the result of two diametrically opposed approaches.

The Israelis wanted to link the last stage of the IDF redeployment to the negotiations on the permanent settlement, while the Palestinians wanted to bring the IDF withdrawal forward.

In this way they sought to block off the option of territorial compromise and create the new option of unilaterally declaring a Palestinian state in lieu of negotiations.

With almost all the territory in their hands they can easily take the risk of declaring independence, and even gain wide international recognition.

The compromise King Hussein achieved between Arafat and Netanyahu at the beginning of this week assumed a postponement of the third withdrawal by 11 months. Instead of September 1997, as Arafat demanded, the final redeployment will now take place in August 1998.

But this doesn't solve Israel's fundamental quandary: whether the process of IDF withdrawal from Judea and Samaria will end before the completion of negotiations on the permanent settlement.

Will Arafat be left with time in hand to exploit the fact of gaining almost all the territory in order to break free of dependency on permanent-status negotiations with Israel? Will he create unilaterally the accomplished fact of a Palestinian state in all the territory evacuated by the IDF?

The agreement reached through King Hussein's mediation has bought Israel a breathing space; but it has not brought any guarantee against a unilateral declaration of statehood by Arafat between August 1998, the time for the completion of the withdrawals, and May 1999, the target date for ending negotiations on the permanent settlement.

Warren Christopher assured Israel of its right to determine the extent of the third stage of IDF withdrawal. Unless Netanyahu can persuade the US to resist Arab pressure to ignore this assurance, that third stage will cause Israel a great deal of angst.

The writer, a veteran journalist, comments on current affairs.



From Hebron to a PLO state

ELYAKIM HA'ETZNI

A man goes into a jewelry shop, picks out the finest diamond necklace, then turns to the shopkeeper with an ultimatum: He'll take the necklace - but only if it comes wrapped up in a million-dollar bill.

The shopkeeper doesn't call in the men in white coats. Instead, he begins bargaining over the "price." Finally he congratulates himself for having brought it down to half a million, together with the necklace.

Is he mad, or what?

The jewel that is Hebron wouldn't have become the breaking point in Netanyahu's relations with his voters if it hadn't been for the even larger issues that go down the drain together with it. These issues are so large as to make Hebron just an appetizer to the full meal being served Arafat by the ministers who raised their hands in the Hebron vote.

They are putting their state under an obligation to the US (1) - to hand over, in three installments, all of Judea and Samaria except the desert area, which comprises close to 40 percent of the whole, and the settlements, which Netanyahu earlier pledged not to expand.

The surrender of Hebron thus presages a Palestinian state, since the only thing that still stands between Arafat and his unilateral declaration of statehood is the possession of territory. All the other attributes he already has.

As long as he is holed up in an "archipelago" of eight isolated towns surrounded by Israeli-controlled territory, a state is simply not practicable; but after the three IDF "redeployments" it will be Israel's settlements and "military locations" that remain as isolated islands. As Palestine's day dawns, theirs will wane.

Small wonder, then, that close Netanyahu adviser David Bar-

Ilan has already floated the idea of a (demilitarized) Palestinian state.

It is a generous Ramadan present indeed that Israel has given the PLO chairman: Hebron, wrapped up in almost all the inhabited parts of Judea and Samaria.

If this is the "New Likud," nothing could be more apt than Bar-Ilan's conclusion that there is no

measure that could have given the Jews some sort of security - freedom of operation for the IDF - and this after "Bloody September," in which Arafat's soldiers killed 16 Israelis.

Gone too is Netanyahu's famous condition of "reciprocity." The agreement contains no direct linkage making any further Israeli move conditional on Arafat's making good on a myriad of past,

Netanyahu train will notice that the destination has been changed, from the Land of Israel to Palestine.

Gradually, as the euphoria fades and the bitter truth emerges, some travelers at least will jump off in an attempt to force the fall of the government and new elections.

They will have nothing to lose. If the Land is to be relinquished, better it should be done by Meretz and the [Israeli] Arabs.

They have much to gain: Netanyahu has no hope of being re-elected as his party's candidate in the next elections. After Hebron, the transfer of almost all the habitable parts of Judea and Samaria to Arafat in three stages will mark the tombstone on his career.

In Labor, many will prefer "elections-now" to a unity government led, de facto, by Shimon Peres. Any candidate with some standing will have the same chance as the young man who came along in 1992, salvaged a broken party, beat Labor and became prime minister.

If electing Netanyahu was a mistake, well, it can be rectified by a replay of May 1996.

Netanyahu was a relative unknown before his meteoric leap into power.

It is impossible to believe that half the nation cannot produce another candidate.

The writer, an attorney and former MK, lives in Kiryat Arba.

The city is just an appetizer to the full meal being served Arafat by those ministers who voted for the agreement

longer any real difference between the Likud and Labor.

The Likud's partition of the Land of Israel has shaken us like an earthquake, breaking up the ground under the National Camp and bringing the historic, 60-year ideological Revisionist-Herut camp to a dismal end.

When Likud MK Michael Eitan and seven other Likud MKs came to terms with MK Yossi Beilin regarding the "Beilin-Abu Mazen plan" - something they couldn't have done without the prime minister's tacit blessing - they started a fire which spells the spiritual extinction of Jabotinsky's "New Zionist" organization.

Only a speedy revolution coming from inside the party can now prevent those flames from consuming the Likud physically.

ALTHOUGH Hebron is just the boulder setting a devastating avalanche in motion, the Hebron deal, looked at in and of itself, is a disaster too.

Gone is the one and the only

present and future violations.

Worse still, from now on the US will be the arbiter regarding what constitutes a violation, and on whether Israel will be allowed to discontinue the "process" in reaction to any such breach.

Gone is Netanyahu's reluctance to be under the same roof as Arafat. For some time now, the premier has been bending over backwards to get Arafat to deign to meet with him.

Gone even is the Peres-Arafat concession that left all Israeli property in Hebron under Israeli control. Now, all unoccupied Jewish property goes to Arafat.

So where do we go from Hebron? Travelers on the

Politics isn't a dirty word

ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

If the appointment of Roni Bar-On as attorney-general was defective, the cancellation of the appointment was super-defective. The High Court should never have been brought into the matter.

Cabinet discussions subject to judicial review? There is no more certain method to prevent serious and open deliberations around the cabinet table. That is why such matters are universally considered privileged.

The next time the government has before it the appointment of an attorney-general, the discussion will be less open and less candid than it has ever been before. The ministers will be aware that the protocol may come before the High Court for judicial inspection.

Was the court expected to judge the legality of politics? The least significant aspect of the entire appointment fiasco was its legality. The real issue was whether the appointment made any sense.

True, if a governmental decision makes no sense at all - that is, if it is beyond the realm of reason - fairly recent High Court decisions hold that this constitutes illegality.

In a properly functioning democracy, nonsensical governmental decisions should be tested politically, not judicially.

Transferring the decision from the government to the judicial appointments committee, with the addition of the prime minister and the speaker of the Knesset, as proposed by MK Shaul Yahalom, chairman of the Knesset Law Committee, is another cop-out.

The judicial appointments committee, composed of three supreme court justices, the justice minister and another government minister, two members of the Knesset, and two bar association representatives, is by definition apolitical. Presumably, it would diminish the probability of judicial review, if the decision on the choice of the attorney-general was quasi-judicial - to begin with. Apparently the High Court has never reviewed a decision of the judicial appointments committee.

Politics is not a dirty word. The attorney-general determines policy in important areas of national life. His appointment is an important political decision.

Why shouldn't the supervision of the decision be political as well? Supervising the executive should be a major part of the legislature's workload.

Why not make the decision of the government on the appointment of the attorney-general subject to ratification by the Knesset Law Committee? What does it tell us about our faith in democratic government when the chairman of the Knesset Law Committee poses that the decision be transferred to an apolitical forum?

For a new attorney-general, political experience could be an asset, not a liability

THE SAME flight from politics that characterizes much of the discussion about the appointment process also infects the criteria for appointment.

If the candidate for appointment is politically identified, at the very least, he has a defect which requires outstanding professional qualifications to overcome. Reportedly this is the opinion of the President of the Supreme Court, Aharon Barak, as expressed to Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi prior to the cabinet meeting at which the Bar-On appointment was approved.

A realistic view of the role of the attorney-general points in a different direction.

Much of the failures of the last two incumbents, Yosef Harish and Michael Ben-Yair, may be traced to their lack of political experi-

ence. Both came to the office after experience as district court judges. In our judicial system, this means that not only their political experience but even their involvement in crucial areas of public law was severely restricted.

If Barak intends his constitutional revolution to be more than just a metaphor, there should be a revolution in the qualifications for the office of attorney-general. Political experience could be an important asset, not a liability.

Of course, it should be experience at a level that is relevant to the job that the attorney-general has to perform.

The notion that the attorney-general should be unidentified politically rests on the argument that his qualifications are identical to those for appointment as a justice of the supreme court. But instead of searching for the apolitical professional for the attorney-general's job, the time has come to revise the criteria for appointment to the supreme court.

In a tribunal that determines constitutional and other vital public law issues, the lack of relevant political experience is a serious defect. Just as experience as district court judge has not proved the best preparation for the role of attorney-general, so it may not be the best qualification for service on the nation's highest judicial tribunal.

This makes it doubly regrettable that an able candidate for appointment as attorney-general, District Court Judge Elyakim Rubinstein, reportedly declined the job, precisely because his ambition is to sit on the Supreme Court. For that, experience as attorney-general is probably preferable.

Perhaps we would have more qualified attorneys-general - and more qualified justices - if it became the practice to give preference to the outgoing attorney-general in consideration for appointment to a vacancy on the supreme court.

The writer is a legal and political commentator.

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OSCE to Milosevic: Grant protesters' demands

By MARK HEINRICH

BELGRADE - Europe's biggest security body intensified pressure on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic yesterday, urging him to go beyond piecemeal concessions and fully recognize local election wins by opposition parties.

The OSCE admonished Belgrade after Milosevic convened federal Yugoslavia's defence council to address the Serbian political crisis, which showed no sign of subsiding after the opposition resumed protest rallies despite the concessions.

Up to half a million people have

demonstrated daily for almost nine weeks in a bid to reinstate opposition victories in Serbian local elections nullified by the ruling Socialists (SPS), who claimed unspecified "irregularities".

Cornered by an OSCE inquiry that confirmed the opposition Zajedno (Together) coalition won the vote in 14 of 18 major towns, electoral commissions on Tuesday admitted the ruling leftist coalition had lost Belgrade and the second city Nis.

But the SPS-led commissions stressed the results were preliminary and the government had until tomorrow to appeal.

Suspicious opposition leaders vowed to continue protests, pulling some 10,000 people into Belgrade's streets again yesterday, after a senior Socialist hardliner said an appeal was planned against the electoral commission rulings.

"Step-by-step concessions to the opposition on what ought to be a merely mechanical issue — translating the results into seats — is simply not the way to handle this situation," OSCE chairman-in-office Niels Helveg Petersen said.

"The OSCE message to the Socialists is simply: 'Don't think you can get away with tossing bits and pieces of bones to the opposition'," a senior diplomat in Belgrade said.



Abortion clinic bombed

Smoke rises from the site where the second of two bombs exploded yesterday near a building housing an abortion clinic in Atlanta. The second bomb exploded while federal officials combed through debris left by the first blast. (Reuters)

In deep sorrow we announce the death of our dear

PHYLLIS HACKETT

The bereaved families
Hackett, Gaba, Abrahams
and our extended families

We will visit the grave on January 20 at 10 a.m.
at Har Hamenuhot.

**Bill
Cosby's
son shot
dead**

LOS ANGELES — Bill Cosby's only son was shot to death yesterday after stopping on a Santa Monica Mountains road.

The body of Ennis Cosby, in his 20s, was found alongside his Mercedes-Benz convertible at the top of Sepulveda Pass, publicist David Brokaw said. Police said he died of a single gunshot wound.

The 54-year-old star of television's *Cosby* was notified early yesterday in New York, where the show is produced. Cosby and wife Camille have four daughters.

"We have every confidence in the LAPD. Our hearts go out to each and every family that such an incident occurs. This is a life experience that is truly difficult to share," Cosby said.

"The victim was apparently having car trouble and stopped to change a tire. He was killed as a result of a gunshot wound," Lt. Anthony Alba said. "The car was found with the trunk open and the door open on the passenger side."

LUANDA (Reuters) — Britain's Princess Diana, who ended a trip to Angola yesterday, shrugging off controversy over her fight to ban landmines, a crusade she now hopes to take to troubled spots around the globe.

She brushed off criticism by politicians back home that she should mind her own business and not get involved in politics as "merely a distraction" and vowed not to change course.

"I am not a political figure, the fact is I am a humanitarian figure and always will be," the princess told reporters on the last day of her four-day trip to war-scarred Angola to highlight the misery landmines cause.

"This visit has given me the opportunity to experience at first hand the suffering caused by land-

mines," she said after meeting some of Angola's legion of amputees, victims of mines that still pepper the countryside three years into peace.

"It has convinced me I must continue to play a part in the ongoing worldwide campaign to ban landmines."

She nodded when asked if she wanted to visit Afghanistan, Bosnia and Cambodia to highlight the mine campaign that she publicized in Angola on behalf of the British Red Cross, from which she resigned as vice president last July.

"I would hope there will be other visits like this one because I think it needs to be consistent and I am in a position to raise the profile of the campaign around the world."

"I look forward to visiting other

countries...There are so many countries who need help in the same way. There are so many landmines sitting dormant. Someone has to do something," the princess said, adding that her backing of the anti-landmine campaign was a long-term commitment.

A prominent member of British Prime Minister John Major's Conservatives rounded on Diana, who last year divorced her to the throne Prince Charles, for being "very uninformed".

"This is an important, sophisticated argument. It doesn't help simply to point at the amputees and say how terrible it is," said Peter Viggers, of parliament's defence committee.

But Diana said the row in Britain had not spoiled her visit.

**Lebed may
attend
Clinton
swearing-in**

WASHINGTON (AP) — Russia's former national security chief, Alexander Lebed, may be attending President Clinton's inauguration. Then again, maybe not.

The White House said yesterday the administration had not invited him but that he may have a ticket.

The Joint Congressional Inaugural Committee controls tickets to the ceremony, which it distributes to members of Congress to pass out as they see fit.

"The Congress is free to invite whoever the Congress feels is appropriate," said White House press secretary Mike McCurry.

But Eric Ruff, a spokesman for Sen. John Warner, who is co-chairman of the committee, said, "We did not invite him. But that does not preclude the fact that he may have a ticket because senators get 400 tickets each and members of the House, 200."

It was not immediately clear whether Lebed, who is on a private visit to Germany, plans to attend.

Asked Tuesday if he would visit the United States in the near future, Russia's self-styled president-in-waiting said, "I will go to the United States after my inauguration."

Lebed is the most popular politician in Russia, according to opinion polls. He has called on ailing President Boris Yeltsin to resign, saying he is too ill to run the country. Yeltsin fired Lebed last October.

Lebed last visited Washington Nov. 22, meeting with members of the Clinton administration, influential members of Congress, the business community and news media.

McCurry said earlier this week that the United States customarily does not invite foreign politicians or heads of state to inauguration ceremonies, where foreign countries are represented by their ambassadors.

But South African leader Nelson Mandela attended the 1992 inauguration before he became president.

Four to be charged over 1946 pogrom

WARSAW (AP) — Four former communist security officials will be charged with failing to act during a 1946 antisemitic riot in which 42 Jews were killed, the justice minister said yesterday.

Leszek Kubicki said prosecutors would file charges after a government-appointed commission investigating the riot in the central town of Kielce completes its work. He said that would be soon, but did not give a date.

Similar cases were dropped against four other former security officers who have died, Kubicki told a news conference.

He said all suspects were Poles, but refused to identify them. Kubicki said there was no proof of political instigation of the pogrom, in which a mob turned against Jewish neighbors suspect-

ed of kidnapping a young boy. But prosecutor Zbigniew Milecki, a commission member, told the Zycie independent daily "there is evidence" that the communist secret police might have provoked the riot.

Milecki and other commission officials were unavailable for comment yesterday.

Nine people who allegedly took part in the July 4, 1946, riot were executed after a communist court sentenced them in a summary trial only days after the riot.

Mention of the case was banned under communism. Poles lifted the veil over it only after the totalitarian regime was toppled in 1989, and the Commission for Investigating Crimes Against the Polish Nation began looking into it in 1992.

Crown Heights federal trial on again

NEW YORK (AP) — A federal prosecutor described in court yesterday how a gang of blacks, whipped to anger by the traffic death of a seven-year-old boy, "took the law into its own hands" by attacking a yeshiva student in Crown Heights.

The attack that led to the death of Yankel Rosenbaum, 29, was "hateful and ugly, and struck at the very soul of what we are as Americans," assistant US Attorney Valerie Caproni said.

Her statement opened the trial of two men charged with violating Rosenbaum's civil rights in the August 1991 pogrom. One, Lemrick Nelson Jr., 21, was acquitted of murder in a state trial in 1992.

Rosenbaum was stabbed during the anti-Jewish riots touched off when a car driven by a member of Crown Heights' Lubavitch hasidim killed Gavin Cato, a seven-year-old black boy.

The violence and its aftermath polarized the neighborhood,

where a black majority and the hasidim have long maintained an uneasy coexistence.

Caproni told the jury, sworn in minutes earlier by US District Judge David Trager, that Nelson stabbed the visiting Australian yeshiva student with a knife and was then identified by the dying man.

She said the second defendant, Charles Price, 43, incited the violence with angry speeches at the accident scene. "The gang was looking for a scapegoat that night and it found one," she said. "His name was Yankel Rosenbaum."

Nelson's lawyer, Trevor Headley, told the jury that his client, who had just turned 16 at the time, did not stab the victim and was framed by police.

The jury seated yesterday was predominantly white. Unlike the criminal case jury that acquitted Nelson in 1992, the state jury had six blacks, four Hispanics and two whites.

With deep sorrow we mourn the untimely passing of our beloved

ABRAHAM SCHWARTZ

The funeral will take place today, January 17, 1997 (9 Shevat 5757) at 11 a.m. at the Savyon Cemetery.

Mourned by:

Niva Schwartz

Roni and Vered Schwartz

Ziv and Shahrar Schwartz

Shiri Schwartz

Yitzhak and Ilana Schwartz and family

Amnon and Yaira Schwartz and family

Grandsons, Nir and Gai Schwartz

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(Karen Ben-Zion)

HEBRON:

The eventual signing of the Hebron accord followed months of setbacks which accompanied Netanyahu's steep learning curve, David Makovsky writes

Signed, sealed ...

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai likes to compare the opponents of the Hebron accord to the soldier who complains about breakfast in the army. When his curious commander tries to pin down the exact complaint by asking what he ate, the soldier does not voice specific complaints. So, the commander asked, why is it so bad? "At home, I never eat breakfast. I can sleep through the morning, and do not have to be awakened to the reality of another day."

With the Hebron accord, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his government realized the reality of Oslo, and in so doing left the polemics of the past behind and accepted that the Palestinians are destined to share this small strip of land. It is crucial as it marked the Likud's first agreement with the PLO, and the first time that the Likud is making a territorial concession in the West Bank. Moreover, and no less critically, this government consent to adhere to establishing three further pullbacks ensures that there will be a partition of the West Bank.

In so doing, the Likud is essentially going against the 30-year-old organizing principle of the party, as evidenced by the resignation - on principle - of Science Minister Ze'ev (Benny) Begin. These dramatic facts loom larger than the fine print of the accord, and are explained by the Likud that it is doing so not out of enthusiasm but due to lack of choice, or as Mordechai's story makes clear, a recognition of an Oslo reality.

Yet, the odyssey has not just been the government's odyssey. It has been Netanyahu's personal odyssey from someone who campaigned, even while in office, against Oslo but this week nudged it forward significantly by giving it a more bipartisan base.

The prime minister's learning curve was steep, given the fact that in an interview with this reporter during his run for premiership, Netanyahu demonstrated ignorance of key aspects of Oslo II, suggesting that he never read the agreement.

This transition was certainly not easy. His flexibility was driven by his sense of seeking to escape Israel's regional and international isolation that hit home as a result of the Hasmonian tunnel affair

and its aftermath. By looking back at the evolution of the Hebron talks themselves, one can trace the evolution of Netanyahu and look at some of the other key actors including Mordechai, which offer glimpses into the future.

If one wants to look for a major turning point in the Hebron talks one needs to return to the September violence that surrounded the tunnel affair. Before this incident there had been drift and desultory conversations which had even been regarded as progress considering the first two months in office when Netanyahu did not even want to meet Yasser Arafat or indicated that he would not commit to serious negotiations on Hebron. This was punctuated by gratuitous statements that aggravated Palestinians such as constant public denigration of Oslo even though Netanyahu admitted that the government would adhere to it. Taken together, it created deepening suspicion among the Palestinians that Netanyahu was not serious about peace and set the backdrop for the fighting.

While some Israelis still believe that Arafat secretly called for violence when he asked Palestinians to demonstrate, GSS head Ami Ayalon has made it clear that the intelligence community does not think so.

One US official said, "the tunnel and the violence was a wake-up. Until then, he was playing around with the Palestinian issue. He was not serious about it. The Palestinians felt disillusioned, were being used for photo-ops, deflecting pressure from the Europeans and Arabs. There was no movement on any issue, and the Israeli bureaucracy was instructed to avoid contact with Palestinians."

US Consul-General Ed Abington recalled, "the lowest point came the night after Israeli soldiers were killed at Joseph's Tomb. There was a late-night cabinet meeting. I was with Arafat, and there was concern that Israel could send troops into Nablus which would lead to widespread bloodshed. During the cabinet meeting, Netanyahu would not return Arafat's phone call, but Arafat did get through to General Uzi Dayan and told him that the Joseph's Tomb issue would be

resolved, and he would ensure that the violence would be cooled. The message was passed on to Netanyahu. Luckily the cabinet did not call for action. The whole peace process could have all collapsed that night," Abington said.

The subsequent White House summit ended as Netanyahu took a position that violence could not be rewarded and therefore he would make no concession under pressure. This tough stance was well received at home, but it cost him Jordan, as King Hussein emerged bitter at the summit's results. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who thumbed his nose at President Clinton by boycotting the summit, was vindicated. Clinton was constrained due to the impending US elections, but the summit did not bode well for their ties in the months ahead. Finally Arafat emerged, believing that he had the upper hand by winning broader international support.

Taken together, Netanyahu returned home as a person who, in the words of one negotiator, "now dug himself in a hole. Without an agreement, he could not get out of his international and regional isolation. Israel could now not walk

away from Hebron."

The post-tunnel negotiations were in full throttle from October and Netanyahu turned to the US peace team for an extra push. It was a curious combination since Netanyahu had been angered by the peace team while running for prime minister, charging they were behind Clinton's support for Shimon Peres. Netanyahu found out that when there was trust between Yitzhak Rabin, Peres, and Arafat, the US role was relatively minor, serving little more as an emcee for peace-signing ceremonies. In contrast, when there was no trust between Israel and the Palestinians, the US would assume the role that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has coined for the US: "The indispensable nation."

Undoubtedly, the US had suffered regional setbacks during 1996 as evidenced by a new Islamic government in Turkey, bombing of US forces in Saudi Arabia, and Saddam Hussein's gain of Kurdish enclaves in northern Iraq. But curiously, it would be the Netanyahu government dependency and lack of allies which

would demonstrate to the world that there is no replacement for Washington in the Middle East.

Once talks began in earnest in October, another interesting dynamic became evident. While Israel could not walk from the talks, the US could and did threaten to leave. On four occasions US special Middle East peace envoy Dennis Ross made it clear that he would leave. Ross, whose presence here on the ground for almost a total of two months represented both the unprecedented deepening of US involvement in the talks and, curiously, the Middle-Easternization of American behavior.

This market-like approach of threatening to walk out seemed far from the striped-pants approach of Foggy Bottom diplomats or the calm academic demeanor of Ross himself, but it was effective in convincing Arafat, and sometimes Netanyahu, that the US was serious.

If up to the tunnel affair constituted the end of the first phase of Israeli-Palestinian ties, the second phase probably concluded at the end of November. By the end of

November, Israel withdrew its insistence upon explicit language enabling Israel to preemptively and preventively resettle the 80% of Hebron under Palestinian control whenever it was deemed necessary to fight terrorism. Israel settled for a reaffirmation of the Oslo II clause, which enabled limited reactive hot pursuit - something which could have been obtained within days of the Likud's coming to office last June.

In a certain way, this marked the period of greatest confusion. Foreign Minister David Levy would make statements that the talks would be over "in hours" - a declaration he would rue as it marked the effective end of his involvement in the talks, when it blatantly turned out to be untrue.

Also, Israel did not take into account the person who turned into perhaps the biggest personal winner of these talks, Saeb Erekat. Israeli officials, along with Palestinian security officials, were not fond of Erekat due to his often abrasive style. Israel's top negotiator, Yitzhak Molcho, sought to circumvent Erekat by going straight to Arafat, yet this turned out to be in vain.

Erekat knew how to press Arafat's hot button, turning mun-

dane issues such as the use of rifles instead of pistols into the one issue that Arafat likes to hear: "Palestinian dignity." Another advantage of Erekat was that with Ahmed Qreia (known as Abu Ala) now out of the negotiating loop by becoming speaker of the Palestinian legislative Council, no Palestinian knew Oslo II as well as Erekat. Moreover, his sharp grasp of English made him a mismatch for Dan Shomron, whose English is poor and who is neither interested in nor capable of dealing with legal nuance.

Finally, Erekat came with a grudge. He believed that negotiators Peres and Uri Savir outwitted Palestinian counterparts by going over their heads and appealing directly to Arafat on key aspects of Oslo II. Hence, Israel faced an experienced negotiator who was determined not to be outmaneuvered, or to allow Israelis to go over his head.

Egypt was dying to get into the process to demonstrate Cairo's perennial quest for regional leadership. Netanyahu thought Egypt may be helpful in getting the Palestinians to temper their demands, and invited Moussa to

Continued on Page 11

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ETHICS, LAW AND COMMUNICATION IN AN ERA OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND EXTREMISM
An Examination of the Boundaries of Liberty and Tolerance in Liberal Democracies

IN MEMORY OF
PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN
University of Haifa, Safdie Auditorium 28-31 January 1997

Tuesday, 28 January 1997

14:00 Opening Session

Chairperson: Prof. Ephraim David
Dean, Faculty of Humanities, University of Haifa

Prof. Eli Barnavi, Department of History, Tel-Aviv University
Political Assassination: A Historian's Perspective

Prof. Myriam Yardeni, Department of History, University of Haifa
The Problem of Violence in the Wars of Religion in France (1562-1598)

Prof. Harvey Chisick, Department of History, University of Haifa
The Dual Threat to Modern Citizenship: Non-Consensual Activism and Liberal Indifference

Prof. Arnon Gutfield, Department of History, Tel-Aviv University
Loyalty, Treason and Sedition in the United States During Crisis Times

Dr. Ron Robin, Department of History, University of Haifa
Professors as Propagandists: Liberal Democracies vs. Totalitarianism in the Reducation Program for German POWs During WWII

17:30 Session in Commemoration of the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin

Chairperson: Dr. Raphael Cohen-Almagor,
Chairperson, Conference Committee

Mrs. Leah Rabin
MK. Shimon Peres
Prof. Yehuda Hayuth, President, University of Haifa

Keynote Lecture
Prof. Frederick Schauer
Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University:
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The ax has fallen

While some settlers acknowledge there is now nothing to wait for but the messiah, others aim to keep up the struggle. Herb Keinon reports

Pinhas Wallerstein, the chairman of the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, closed an emergency meeting of the council's plenum Tuesday night with the singing of "Ani Ma'amin." "I have perfect faith in the coming of the messiah."

Some could argue there was a great deal of symbolism in Wallerstein's choice of song – that it reflects the settlement movement's faith that, in the final analysis, God is on their side, and all will work out in the end.

Others could say there was something slightly pathetic about Wallerstein singing "Ani Ma'amin" before "Hatikva"; that it was acknowledgment that after years of struggle and sacrifice to create incontrovertible facts on the ground, the settlers – as Jews have throughout the millennia – were left with nothing but to wait for the messiah.

At two emergency meetings of the council this week – one with just the members of the secretariat, and one with 200 representatives from all the settlements – it was made clear that the settlement movement is at a crucial fork in the road. What marked both meetings was that only little was said about Hebron. Redeployment was taken as a given. The bulk of the debate was about further redeployment, and the concern that this would sound the death knell for the settlements.

"Why did we call an emergency meeting?" Kiyat Arba activist Elyakim Ha'etzi asked the plenum Tuesday night. "Because what is about to happen is the partitioning of Israel. The Likud government is going to partition Israel."

Settlement leaders throughout the week spoke in terms of having been deceived. The feeling up until this week, said Aryeh Ofri, the head of the Samaria Regional Council, was that Prime Minister Netanyahu would – because he had no choice – indeed go through with the redeployment from Hebron. But that he would then stop there. The settlement council convened emergency meetings because of the fear that by committing to the further redeployment stages, Netanyahu had sealed the fate of the other settlements as well.

Had Labor been the party pulling the troops out of Hebron, there is little doubt that the streets would be reverberating with protest

"If the agreement is approved, everything is lost," Ha'etzi told the secretariat at its meeting Monday afternoon. "Who is going to invest \$80,000 to \$100,000 in a settlement when he knows that around him everything is brown [the color of Palestinian autonomous regions on government maps]. People will not invest. You can say what you want about Jews, but they are not stupid."

Ha'etzi represents the right wing of the settlement council. Council director-general Aharon Domb, representing the council's "pragmatic" wing, tried to temper Ha'etzi's assessment, arguing that "not everything is black and white"; that the reality, as harsh as it may be, is not as bad as some would have it appear. But even Domb would agree that if Netanyahu hands over to the Palestinians in the further stages as much land as they will likely demand – with or without the American letter of clarification – then the settlements, though they may not be uprooted, will certainly have nowhere to grow.

But this is a big "if." Yaron Ahimov, head of the Efrat Local Council, said that rather than fighting the government, the council should make sure the government gives to the Palestinians only the barest minimum during the next three redeployment stages.

But, according to Aryeh Tsur, head of the Gaza Coast Regional Council, there is no reason in the world to think Netanyahu won't give in to American and Palestinian pressure. Ever since Camp David, Tsur said, whenever there has been a difference of interpretation between Arab and Israeli versions of an agreement, the Arab version has always won out.

AFTER THE council's two emergency meetings, and hours of consultations between the settlement leaders themselves, the council came out only with declarative statements against the accords, and various threats. But nothing operative. Had Labor been the party pulling the troops out of Hebron, there is little doubt that the streets would be reverberating with



Praying in the Cave of the Patriarchs.

(Brian Hendler)

protest. That this is not the case reflects the council's dilemma.

On the one hand the council worked hard for Netanyahu's election; prayed for his election.

They realize that this government is the best alternative, and that to bring down the government would be to shoot itself in the foot. Yet on the other hand they want to send a message to the government that, as one council official put it, "they can do everything they want."

The council is split between those who want to take a pragmatic approach, continuing working with the government in the hope that they can influence its policies; and those who believe that as a result of the Hebron agreement, the council and the government should

part ways.

Ya'acov Katz, an Alon Shvut resident and pollster at Bar-Ilan University's school of education, presented the "pragmatic" approach at the meeting Tuesday night. Amid Ha'etzi's fire, and the brimstone of Ron Nahman who said that the settlement leaders should resign en masse to pressure the government, Katz got up and said simply: "We can do everything. But in the final analysis, the reality is what determines it. It is from this reality that we must operate."

And the reality he described was of a prime minister who said before the elections that he will continue with the Oslo agreements, and who – according to Katz – won the election precisely because he said he

would continue with the Oslo process.

"Today, public opinion is not with us," Katz said. "Forty-nine percent of the public is in favor of leaving Palestinian population areas." When this brought jeers and calls of "we can lead public opinion," Karni Shomron Local Council head Yehuda Lieberman said to Katz, "don't confuse them with facts."

The other approach, the approach that won the most applause, was that of Yosef Artziel, a rabbi from Kedumim and one of the core Gush Emunim activists from the 1970s. "When we fought and struggled, we were respected. But when we are nice, they spit on us. Because we are so nice and sweet, the prime

minister and the cabinet are spitting on us," he said.

Referring to the heady days of Gush Emunim, Artziel said, "We were a core group of seven people, and led the whole country after us. We knew what we had to do. We knew what was good for Israel, and what we had to do. And we know today, like we knew then."

Indicative of the council, is that while Katz was jeered, and Artziel was applauded, in the final analysis Katz won out.

The council issued a statement calling on the government to reject the accords, but stopping far short of adopting any of the various protest options that were suggested. The council put its pragmatic foot forward.

Shahor: Arafat has a script and uses Ben-Gurion as an example

Major-General Oren Shahor, the government's coordinator of activities in the territories, was the only Israeli who negotiated on behalf of both the Labor- and Likud-led governments. In an interview with Arie O'Sullivan and Jon Immanuel, Shahor, who negotiated the civilian arrangements in the Hebron deal, assesses Yasser Arafat, Palestinian negotiators and the likelihood of Palestinian statehood

How do you compare the methods of negotiations of the previous government and the present government?

A. The methods are the same. It is Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres or the present prime minister. I can tell you that the present prime minister was very much involved in the civilian negotiations.

Could you perceive a difference in the negotiations methods of the Palestinians after our change of government?

The problem was one of faith. The more communication and acquaintance you have helps. The only one who remained from the

previous group was me. Yes, the Palestinians thought I was a bridge and had experience.

Was there a change in the methods of negotiations between Hebron I and Hebron 2?

There was no Hebron I. The interim agreement dealt with Hebron in two pages, and [in Hebron 2] we dealt with a lot of issues. I had to deal with the transfer of 40 authorities, from agriculture to transportation and more. Every matter is a world unto itself. Hebron was just part of it.

What are you proud of in the civilian agreement? It ensures that there won't be a sense of a

stranglehold on the Jewish settlement in Hebron. This agreement also ensures the municipal services of the city of Hebron and defines very well what is permissible and what is not. The Palestinian side tried to open the agreement a number of times after we concluded it. We did not open it. It is an agreement which is certainly and unequivocally better than the previous one. There are more details.

Did the link between the Palestinians make between the redeployment in Hebron and the further redeployment cause any difficulties for the civilian agreement which is now to be implemented?

The Palestinians had this lack of trust. There was this problematic relationship which had to be built up in stages, and the Palestinians said they want to be sure that there is a continuation of the process beyond Hebron.

Is there an agreement on the amount of territory to be given to the Palestinians?

Not at all. You have to understand that there was not even a discussion on the third pullback. Anyway, it is not up for discussion with the Palestinians, although we should still inform them. But according to the interim agreement it is our decision. It is a unilateral decision.

Yasser Arafat speaks of 80 percent of the territory?

First of all it can't be 80 percent. Arafat is speaking of what he wants and that has no bearing. The only thing which holds is what has already been handed over, which is 27 percent which was transferred with various jurisdictions, including area A and the populated areas which include the village area.

We are not talking of agreement but understandings of a continuity?

The matter has not been discussed. The only matter concerning the final arrangement was a single ceremonial meeting before the elections, and an agenda wasn't even set there.

Many say the closure is causing economic hardships. What is your position?

On one hand the closure helps in solving the security problems since it deters some of the terrorists. It is easier to see who is here and who is not. It does not hermetically prevent attacks. If someone wants to slip through he can. Except for the case in which a terrorist slipped through at Karni Crossing and went on to carry out the Dizengoff bombing, the closure had a deterrent effect on attacks.

On the other hand, there is the Paris agreement which calls for freedom of commerce, even though in the interim agreement we put in a clause stating any security



Shahor: The Palestinians lacked trust.

(Israel Sun)

this is having an effect on the Palestinian economy.

Today the situation is better and we are feeling it. The problems are the fluctuations when there is a terror attack. I am one of those who thinks that we don't need foreign workers. This has a lot of bad repercussions and I think we have to allow more and more Palestinians to become involved in the Israeli economy. This also protects the security by giving them something to lose. There is a balance. When we make decisions to ease the closure we are taking security risks.

Some groups in Israel, like the Environment Ministry, are against some industrial zones?

In general the industrial zones are very important. They employ people, including those from the territories, and also allow for work to continue even if there is a closure. They also create an interaction between Israelis and Palestinians which is positive. We have to examine if they are harmful to the environment in some places, but in general they are welcomed.

How does the military deal with the Palestinian economic dependence on Israel at a time when more and more Palestinian forces are emerging in the territories?

The Palestinian forces are intended to maintain order on the Palestinian streets. The weapons are given out to keep public order. Last September's incidents were a gross violation of the agreement which almost brought about a rift due to the use of weapons against IDF soldiers. We expect the Palestinian police to deal with terror, but it is not just the Palestinian police but also the security services who are really doing something.

Regarding the war on terror, do you have proof that the Palestinians have failed terror?

Yes, there is close cooperation between the Palestinian and Israeli security services. This is no secret.

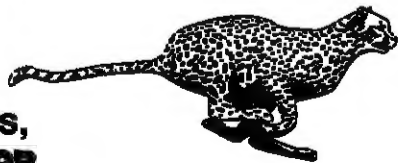
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Netanyahu, Arafat on verge of summit

Ross leaves Hebron talks stall

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Knesset to vote on Hebron pact today

'Jordan deserved the credit, Egypt did not'

HEBRON

Continued from Page 8

Palestinians to temper their demands, and invited Moussa to visit Israel. Moussa saw this as an opportunity to become a full-fledged mediator, and enthusiastically told Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak so. However, once the level of the misunderstanding became clear upon his return to Jerusalem, Netanyahu sent his loyal foreign policy aide Dore Gold to clarify the situation in Cairo.

During the last six weeks, Egypt envisaged its own role as not only being Arafat's confidant, but ultimately as being more pious than the pope of Palestinian nationalism. Egypt was not only driven by a sense of regional attachment, but, according to negotiators, felt that if the Palestinians would dig in, the stalemate would so deepen Israel's regional isolation that the result would be that Netanyahu would have no choice but to turn to Shimon Peres and form a unity government.

However, like their brothers in Damascus during the Golan talks, Cairo overplayed its hand. The most egregious example was when Mubarak went on Egyptian television and said that Arafat could not accept a compromise when it came to the Ibrahim Mosque (the Tomb of the Patriarchs). In fact, Oslo II made clear that this issue would only come up three months after Hebron. However, like Netanyahu, Mubarak apparently never read the agreement.

Ross, however, made pilgrimages to Cairo in a bid to ask the Egyptians to use its influence with the Palestinians to bring the negotiations to an end. However, as during past trips, the visit last Saturday appeared to have limited value. Television cameras at Mubarak's palace caught the Egyptians and Americans looking glumly at each other. Yet Ross would not take the ultimate step when it came to Cairo, namely publicly blaming Egypt for the deadlock. As one American official put it: "Let's face it. The Egyptians basically played an obstructionist role in these talks. Last Saturday was a wasted day in Cairo. There was a genuine sense of sweet justice that King Hussein and not Egypt got the credit for clinching these talks. Jordan deserved the credit and Egypt did not."

However, if Mubarak did one single thing right during these last few months, it was inviting Mordechai for a meeting and giving him respect treatment. This meeting was a personal turning point for Mordechai, as he emerged from the meeting as virtually the "true believer" of the peace process. In Rabineau form, Mordechai looked

beh, Mordechai remarked, "I will not have the entire Middle East go up in flames for a single shack in Hebron." At one point during the last few weeks, Mordechai was frustrated by the stalemate in negotiations. Against the advice of his advisers who said it was not keeping with protocol, Mordechai showed up unannounced at one session of the peace talks, insisting that top military officials Lt.-Gen. Armon Shashak and Maj.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz

work together.

Mordechai's mantra is "only normal living" will enable peace to work, as stringent measures often only create greater antagonism. Arafat appreciated Mordechai's opening of Hebron University and the road around Netzarim, closed for two years, as evidence that he is serious.

Yet, the Friedman shooting left a mark not just with Mordechai, but also had a boomerang impact on the peace process — an act done ostensibly to prevent an assertion of Arab rights strengthened them. Specifically, on the night before the Friedman shooting, Israeli, Egyptian, and American diplomats confirm that the Palestinians were willing to accept language that would avoid a fixed date for a third pullback and focus just on the first one. Yet, after the Friedman shooting, Arafat dug in his heels.

Arafat, who thrives on brinkmanship in general, thought he gained leverage in the wake of Friedman, and could therefore act upon his suspicion that Netanyahu wanted to skip to the final-status talks. Moreover, he took statements made by Israeli officials to Israeli newspapers as evidence that he had every right to be suspicious about Israeli intentions.

Despite some advisers who wanted Netanyahu to avoid agreeing to a fixed date on the pullbacks, the premier made the tough call himself and felt it was time to wrap up the talks. However, Netanyahu wanted a date that was closer to a final-status accord than the Oslo II mandated timetable of this September, and agreed on mid-1998, believing the date is within blurring distance of when a final deal is to be concluded.

Unlike Israel, which could not walk away from the Hebron talks, the US threatened exactly that, as it pressed the Palestinians to accept the terms, noting that it won US support for all three future Israeli pullbacks. The Palestinians won the principle of pullbacks, but Israel was able to modify timing and perhaps the scope.

Having begun the Hebron talks with a feeling that he could dictate terms to the Palestinians, Netanyahu concluded them with a sense that there must be a quid pro quo.

"I will not have the entire Middle East go up in flames for a single shack in Hebron."

—Yitzhak Mordechai

at the peace process not through rose-tinted glasses, but rather as the essential condition for halting the region from sliding to violence. For Mordechai, this was partly personal. During the visit to Egypt, he told aides, "I have not been back to Egypt since the Yom Kippur War when I saw my comrades die on Egyptian soil. I want to move forward to peace because I cannot forget those killed here."

After his trip, Mordechai put the Hebron issue in a regional context. In a specific reference to a problematic Jewish house in the Hebron cas-

ser, Mordechai remarked, "I will not have the entire Middle East go up in flames for a single shack in Hebron."

ser, Mordechai remarked, "I will not have the entire Middle East go up in flames for a single shack in Hebron."

Together in prayer

At the time of the original Oslo handshake in 1993, the London-based Arabic daily *al-Hayat* voiced glee that the "four rabbis of the State Department" were not part of the secret deal in Norway, alluding to the four Jewish members of the US peace team led by Dennis Ross.

To the Arabs' surprise, there certainly have been ups and downs between the US team and Binyamin Netanyahu dating back to the Bush administration. However, one incident during the last couple of weeks came closest yet to the fantasies of *al-Hayat*.

During a late-night negotiating session at the home of US ambassador Martin Indyk, Aaron Miller, Ross's bright and longtime top deputy, wanted to say *kaddish* for his mother, who recently died in Cleveland. (Just before her death, Aaron's mother was saluted by Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert in Cleveland for lifetime of devotion to the Jewish people.) This was the night where the security details of Hebron were finalized, and Defense Minister Mordechai was in attendance.

A break was taken in the talks. Ross, Indyk, and US legal adviser Jonathan Schwartz joined Mordechai and other Israelis in making a *minyan* so Miller could say *kaddish*. The Palestinian negotiators looked on, with apparent respect.

D.M.

Savir: Netanyahu fails to reap benefits of Oslo

The architect of the accords believes that despite the PM's misinterpretations, a final pact will be reached, Steve Rodan reports

A Foreign Ministry director-general during the Rabin and Peres governments, Uri Savir spent hundreds of hours in negotiations with Palestinians and concluded two interim agreements that will direct Israel until at least 1999.

Today, as a private citizen, Savir says Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's Likud-led government is misinterpreting the accords completely, paying the price of withdrawal without gaining any of the benefits of Palestinian-Israeli conciliation.

For Savir, the Oslo accords represented little more than a psychological tool for building trust with the Palestinians without Israel conceding anything that would erode its strategic strength. The architects of Oslo, he says, operated under a cardinal rule: Never leave the initiative to others.

"They [the Netanyahu government] treat the agreement with more importance than we did," Savir says. "The real gains of Oslo did not come from the Palestinians. It opened doors with Jordan and the Arab world because we were seen as leading the process and not being dragged through it."

And this is Netanyahu's main problem, Savir says. Because the prime minister's concessions are purely the result of pressure, Israel loses any chance of gaining Arab goodwill required for the peace process to bear political and economic achievements. "I worry that the Arabs think that they got this agreement because of pressure on Netanyahu," Savir says. "In the past, we achieved things through partnership."

Savir vividly recalls the 1995 Oslo II agreement on further IDF redeployments: three stages of withdrawal that would take place in September 1996 and end a year later. The original Palestinian demand, derived from the Declaration of Principles, was that



Savir: Netanyahu's concessions are due to pressure. We achieved through partnership. (A. J. Jorjolimek)

following the January 1996 elections, the IDF would withdraw from most of the West Bank. "They spoke of 75 percent of the West Bank after the third redeployment," Savir says. "We said there should not be a percentage listed in the agreements. This was the hardest part of the battle but [former prime ministers] Peres and Rabin insisted."

Savir stresses that all of the further redeployments would be determined by Israel and not subject to negotiations. But he said the Peres government had planned to negotiate the third redeployment to ensure Palestinian cooperation.

Even after the final further redeployment Savir says Israel would have remained in large parts, although not most of, the West Bank. Israeli pullbacks would have been coordinated with IDF needs to maintain security over its installations and Jewish settlements. This would have included maintaining Israeli control in

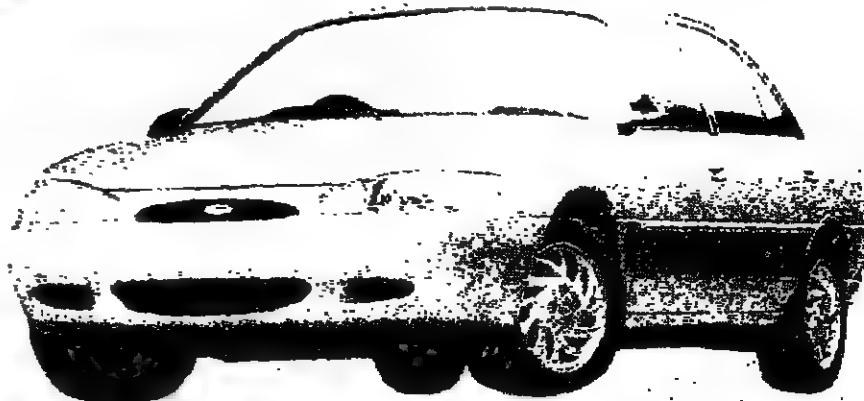
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All proceeds from the fair will help Israel's needy children, the elderly and new immigrants.



Justice for all

The role of the attorney-general is one of the most powerful positions in the state, Amy Klein reports

In one week, the nomination of an attorney-general was proposed, approved, suspended and withdrawn. But in the aftermath of Roni Bar-On's failed appointment, one question stands out above the rest: Who cares?

One would hope the answer is: everybody. The position of attorney-general is one of the most powerful, pivotal roles in the state, with influence over national, criminal and civil affairs.

But the fact that the attorney-general's responsibilities stem more from tradition rather than legislation is what has sparked the current debate over the role of the job — as well as the demand for new legislation.

"The role of the attorney-general has a very long history," says Hebrew University political science professor Abraham Diskin. "It's not something that they thought about and made a law. In reality, a large part of the attorney-general's duties developed because of the personality of the person," he says.

IT ALL started in 1948 after the notorious Tubyansky affair. Meir Tubyansky, in a secret trial held by fellow Hagana members, was executed on the false charge of spying. When Ya'acov Shimshon Shapiro, Israel's first attorney-general, fought prime minister David Ben-Gurion for the right to prosecute the perpetrators, he fought for the attorney-general's sole right to bring all cases to prosecution.

Nine attorneys-general and almost 50 years later, the attorney-general's duties can be divided into three arenas: As chief prosecutor, the attorney-general decides which criminal cases will go to trial; as government defender, the attorney-general defends the government on all charges, and it is his legal counsel which serves as the basis for all the government's actions; and as representative of the public, the attorney-general has the right to interfere in any trial that can hurt the national or public interest.

When attorney-general Haim Cohn decided to prosecute the libel case of a lower-level government employee, Rudolf Kasztner in the 1950s, he was exercising the attorney-general's right to interfere in cases where the national interest was at stake. (What Cohn did not know was that this case would turn into the "trial of the century," striking at the core of the Labor movement's labeling as collaborators in the Holocaust.)

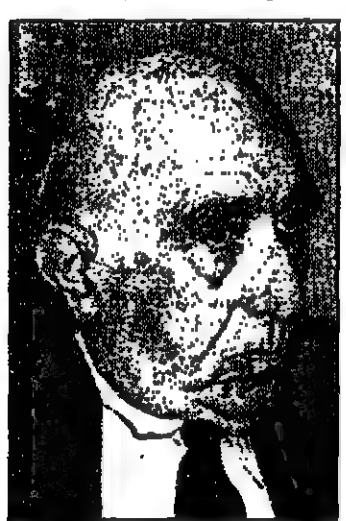
After the defeat, when Cohn took the case to the Supreme Court, Cohn was exercising his right to defend an individual



Ya'acov Shimshon Shapiro (David Rubinger)

Ya'acov Shimshon Shapiro (1948-1950) A trial lawyer by profession and one of the founders of the Labor movement, Shapiro was appointed attorney-general upon the founding of the state. He clashed with Ben-Gurion over the notorious Tubyansky case. Only the attorney-general can order a prosecution, Shapiro demanded, thus carving out the first niche of the attorney-general. He later served as justice minister under Levi Eshkol and Golda Meir. He died in 1993 at the age of 91.

Haim Cohn (1950-1960) A learned haredi who became secular before he took office, Cohn set important definitions between religion and state in his term as attorney-general (and later as Supreme Court Justice), most importantly, his refusal to prosecute homosexuals on the grounds that though it was illegal, it was a private



Haim Cohn (Imma Horovitz)

matter. Attorney-General Cohn took up one of the most famous trials of the century, the Kasztner case. As a prosecutor for libel on behalf of a small-time government employee, this simple case exploded into a debate on the labor movement's actions during the Nazi era, which is the stuff of many books including Ben Hecht's polemic, *Perfidy*. Cohn, in taking on the case and the appeal to overturn the defeat, set down the attorney-general's right to take up any case of national interest, and perhaps exemplified the attorney-general's role to protect every citizen from politically motivated trials.

defined — if not the details — the nature of the position: "In the structure of the job there is a contradiction between the role of the adviser and the prosecutor," says Professor Mordechai Kremnitzer, Dean of Law at the Hebrew University. It is a delicate tightrope to walk. And this is where the issue of qualifications and character — which resulted in such a hefty cost

The attorneys-general:



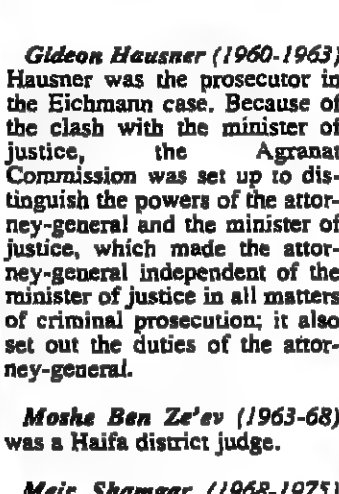
Gideon Hausner (Karon Ben-Zion)



Meir Shamgar (Joel Fishman)



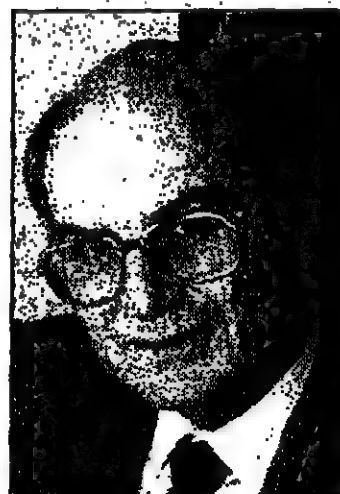
Aharon Barak (Shimon Kishchik)



Yitzhak Zamir (J. Aron-Medina)



Michael Ben-Yair (Shimon Kishchik)



Yosef Harish (Shimon Kishchik)

Gideon Hausner (1960-1963) Served as the prosecutor in the Eichmann case. Because of the clash with the minister of justice, the Agranat Commission was set up to distinguish the powers of the attorney-general and the minister of justice, which made the attorney-general independent of the minister of justice in all matters of criminal prosecution; it also set out the duties of the attorney-general.

Moshe Ben Ze'ev (1963-68) was a Haifa district judge.

Meir Shamgar (1968-1975) Served as the head military prosecutor and judicial adviser to the security system.

Shamgar later went on to become president of the Supreme Court.

Aharon Barak (1965-1978) A professor of law at the Hebrew University, Barak's involvement on the Camp David accords set a precedent for the attorney-general's counsel on state matters.

Barak's initiative to launch a criminal investigation into the Rabin foreign bank-account affair (which led to Yitzhak Rabin's resignation) characterized the attorney-general as public prosecutor against the government.

Barak is now the president of the Supreme Court.

Yosef Harish (1986-1993) the issue of deportations allowed the Rabin government to circumvent the Fourth Geneva Convention laws and "temporarily" expel 418 terrorists from Israel.

In 1986 Harish's decision was not to prosecute the bank-shares scandal, and it was during his term that Supreme Court began to intervene on the attorney-general's decisions.

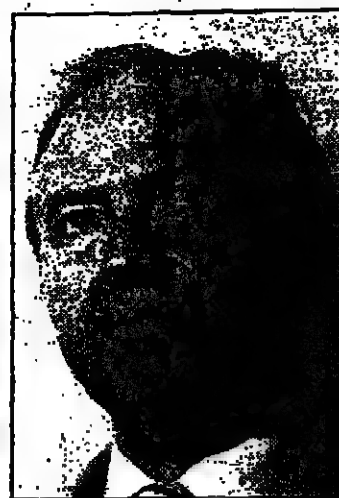
Michael Ben-Yair (1993-1996) A district judge in Tel Aviv.

Likud charged him with "political motivations," in his indictment of Ya'acov Ne'eman, among others. By not consulting with Ben-Yair over various matters, Prime Minister Netanyahu broke the tradition (but not the law) of the relationship between the government and the attorney-general. Leaving the attorney-general out of the loop effectively forced Ben-Yair to resign. A.K.

Yitzhak Zamir (1978-1986) Professor of law at the Hebrew University, Zamir's refusal to go along with the government cover-up of the Bus No. 300 incident led to his replacement. This was a turning point for the office of attorney-general: henceforward the government wanted more amenable attorneys.

Yosef Harish (1986-1993) District judge in Tel Aviv, Harish also refused to bury the Bus No. 300 incident, and some say it was his intransigence which led the president to grant the three defendants a presidential pardon.

Harish's recommendations on



Yosef Harish (Shimon Kishchik)

for the presidential pardon the three defendants received before the investigation, Harish says: "I didn't know about [the presidential pardon] until it happened. They must have planned it for weeks; it was a done deal."

Harish says that on the night when President Chaim Herzog granted the pardon, they came to him to ask if it was legal to grant a pardon before a case takes place.

When Harish pointed out that if they were innocent then they could stand trial and there was no need for immunity, he was told, "You are not an adviser on the morals of the government, or how it will look from an ethical point. The question is: can you grant immunity to people not yet convicted?"

Harish, in accordance with the mandate of his position to remain true to the law, said yes, provided the people had confessed. "There was a small conspiracy against me," he claimed.

At the time, Professor Kremnitzer told reporters that the position of the attorney-general "has been seriously damaged by [last week's] events." This is the main reason for the furor behind Bar-On's political appointment. Even though the job of attorney-general requires impartiality, it is not the first time a person with political connections was appointed to the office.

Shapiro and Hausner both had some sort of political alliance before they served as attorney-general. But the legacy of the Zamir deadlock is that, "The government wants to put a tag on the attorney-general," says Diskin.

Whether it is true that Bar-On's affiliation would have affected his impartiality is irrelevant, because as the Agranat report says: "Perhaps the greatest danger lies in the possibility of creating an appearance of political pressure."

The call for an impartial opinion of the attorney-general reflects every aspect of the job: In matters of criminal decisions (to suspend or hold a trial) the attorney-general decides alone; he is not under the jurisdiction of the minister of justice (for administrative matters, he is). Nor is the Knesset allowed to force him to change his opinion. They must first convince him within the framework of the law. And while these opinions do not have the force of law, it has always been the proper practice to follow their guidance," concludes the Agranat report.

In addition to the political manipulations of the government, the integrity of the office has been lowered even further by the interference of the Supreme Court over attorney-general's decisions, says Diskin.

One of the first reversals of the attorney-general's decision by the Supreme Court came in 1988 with the bank-shares scandal — when Harish decided there should be no prosecution. "Since then," the Supreme Court's interference over the attorney-general's decision have become a fairly regular affair.

How can the attorney-general's position be reestablished as the impartial watchdog it once was? National Religious Party MK Shaul Yahalom's new bill tries, essentially by changing the selection committee.

The committee will be that of the judge selection committee together with the prime minister and the Knesset chairman.

Also, by limiting the term — which until now was unlimited — of the attorney-general to five years without the option of the Knesset firing him (except in the event of his committing a criminal act) this removes the political pressure of providing opinions that are acceptable to the government.

Another proposal for restoring integrity to the job is to divide it in two: government legal counsel/defender for the government, as separate from the state prosecutor. Kremnitzer supports this proposal. "There is no doubt that it is a very crowded job; you cannot stand as head prosecutor and the counsel at the same time," he says.

Perhaps if in 1992 — when attorney-general Yosef Harish provided the Rabin government with the legal grounds to deport 418 Palestinians — the two jobs were separate, then the decision would not have been implemented.

But there are many who are against the proposal of separating the office, including Yahalom, who claims that the prosecutor, no longer serving as adviser, will not know what is going on.

"The separation of powers will leave the attorney-general without his powers," concludes the law regarding the proposal. "It will bring down the status of the attorney-general," says Yahalom.

The bill will not go to vote before they choose the next attorney-general, Yahalom says, but Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon promised him he would look into voting on it soon.

Technion Symphony Orchestra and Choir
Atlas Camerata Immigrants Professional Orchestra.
 Prof. Dalia Atlas - Music Director

End of Winter Semester Concert, 1997
Popular Classical Music - Tuesday, January 21, at 8 p.m.
Churchill Auditorium, Technion City

Conductor: Prof. Dalia Atlas
Soloist: Noam Yosefi, piano

Israeli songs for wind instruments, conducted by students in the Conductors' Class of Prof. Dalia Atlas

Beethoven	—	Egmont
Mozart	—	Divertimento
Sibelius	—	Finlandia
Gershwin	—	Rhapsody in Blue
Handel	—	Hallelujah

The opera, *La Boheme*, by Puccini, in a full production at the Technion, with soloists, orchestra and choir, will be shown on Matav Cable TV - Channel 9. Conductor: Prof. Dalia Atlas
 Sunday, January 26 and Sunday, February 2, at 8 p.m.

Conducting Class
 Registration has commenced for new students for the spring semester. Students with a broad musical education accepted for study under Prof. Dalia Atlas.

Verdi's Requiem
 Professional singers interested in joining the Technion Choir for the performance of Verdi's *Requiem*, are welcome to register. The concerts will take place in June 1997.

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VISA DCC VISA

GRAPEVINE

Sweeping reforms

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

Only someone as wealthy and powerful as *Ma'ariv* editor Ofer Nimrod would have dared to okay the audacious cover of the paper's business magazine this week. It features a montage of Israel Corporation mogul Shaul Eisenberg doing a clean sweep of the corporation's ailing subsidiaries and tramping over the likes of Moshe Arens and Mati Morgenstern, two of the casualties of the Zim Navigation reorganization program.

ON TUESDAY night, before he went off to his post-midnight rendezvous with Yasser Arafat, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu hosted a reception at Jerusalem's King David hotel in honor of Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, the first Polish prime minister to visit Israel. On Wednesday, Cimoszewicz hosted a reception at the Laromne Hotel in honor of Netanyahu, who because of the protracted cabinet meeting on the revised and newly initiated Hebron accord was unable to attend, and some 75 minutes after the start of the reception sent his wife Sara to represent him and the whole cabinet. Netanyahu might have preferred to have his crucial cabinet meeting on another day. So presumably would Foreign Minister David Levy, who was in a rush to

leave for the wedding of his son Eshkol to Meirav Biton. Netanyahu was also invited to join the approximately 1,000 guests attending the festivities in Afula, but due to the pressure of political developments he remained in Jerusalem and delivered his congratulations by phone.

EVEN THOSE who disapproved of awarding a political activist with the position of attorney-general could not help but sympathize with character assassination heaped on lawyer Roni Bar-On, especially after seeing him on Channel 2. Keeping a tight rein on his emotions, yet nonetheless revealing his pain, Bar-On made a valid point about Irit Linor, the self-styled eyewitness to his alleged heavy gambling.

Casino managers are extremely discreet, and none would finger anyone in his or her establishment. Bar-On claimed not to even know the casino manager and queried how Linor had managed to meet him in the short time that she had been present.

GOOD JOURNALISTS can write on just about anything, but they usually write best about the subjects which are closest to their hearts. Both D'vora Ben Shaul and Liat Collins are intensely concerned with environmental



The front page of *Ma'ariv*'s business supplement this week shows Shaul Eisenberg sweeping away unsuccessful executives Moshe Arens and Mati Morgenstern.

issues and with the care of animals, as many *Jerusalem Post* readers can testify. Ben Shaul's expertise in these areas has also been widely acknowledged abroad. In recognition of their ability to use their professional talents to promote environmental awareness both have been named as 1996 laureates of the Life and Environment Prize. It will be awarded to them next Thursday, which appropriately coincides with Tu B'Shvat, the new year for trees. Life and Environment is a non-government umbrella organization which was founded by former MK Yosef Tamir, who is its chairman.

THE FACE of the dark-haired beauty standing in the lobby of the Jerusalem Holiday Inn seemed familiar, but it took guests a little while to realize that this was Ofra Haza taking a brief vacation on home territory. Haza currently spends most of her time in Germany where she is recording a new album of songs, most of which she sings in English.

ON HAND to greet King Hussein when he arrived in Gaza this week was a black-coated, white-bearded figure from Jerusalem. He was none other than Natorei Karta member Moshe Hirsch, who is acting as the Palestinian Authority's Minister for Jewish Affairs.

AFTER A long absence from the Broadway stage, Liza Minnelli returned last week to temporarily fill the shoes of Julie Andrews, who has taken a four-week respite from *Victor Victoria*. Both the cast and the audience put out the welcome mat for Minnelli, and the sustained applause after her opening appearance was music to her ears.

BELIEVE IT or not, there really is a First Wives Club in Los Angeles, and not surprisingly, it was started by a film star's ex. Maggie Eastwood, the former wife of much-married Clint Eastwood, got it going, and Hollywood has since provided a steadily increasing membership, including several ex-husbands, although there are also members with no silver-screen connections.

THE WEEK THAT WAS

Midwife Ross delivers Hebron after hard labor

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Long threatening comes at last. We think!

The Hebron agreement has managed to be "imminent," "close," "a matter of hours away" for seven months.

It almost united ministers, MKs, settlers, leftists, religious, secularists, and Palestinians in unheard-of agreement—the belief that it would never really happen. Yet there it is, delivered by Knesset caesarian sections, with the help of midwife Ross, and not at all premature after seven months of Labor and other pains.

For some odd reason, no one looked happy. Ministers called it "a black day" and Ze'ev Binyamin Begin quit. Right-wing MKs sported the droopy faces of people being dragged into something loathsome. Labor and Meretz MKs could barely hide their chagrin. They approved the agreement of course but swallowed bitter pills of wondering why former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was scorned as a "traitor" and paid with his life for what Netanyahu has now blandly delivered.

"Now, when he does it, suddenly it's for the good of the state," bemoaned MK Dalia Itzik.

The signing ceremony itself dripped with cliché, not even of grand opera, but of pulp thriller. The producers knew it was an anticlimax and jazzed it up on the cheap.

First the tension was ratcheted up on the eve of Bill Clinton's inauguration by American pressure. Amid some philosophical musings about the fleeting nature of life and loan guarantees, Clinton called.

Peace envoy Dennis Ross then threatened to leave (again) if Netanyahu and Yasser Arafat didn't stop musing about and get their heads together by Tuesday. Ross, who has probably missed seeing his children growing old since he set off on this interminable mission, made it clear he wasn't kidding this time. To make the point, he turned up at the Laromne lobby wearing khaki jeans, denim shirt and a *Yankee* baseball cap.

The script next called for the midnight tryst. All that was missing was a ladder or two propped against the Erez checkpoint for Choderoff and Prince Bibi when they met at the witching hour. How romantic, every apolitical housewife could sign, as the next day's newspapers caught the two clasping hands, heads close together in some intimate confidence.

Forgotten already was the subplot red herring of King Hussein's dramatic visit two nights earlier. He it was who thawed the ice between Netanyahu and Arafat—or so it seemed at the time. With the matchmaker forgotten, it was the happy couple's day, and President Bill lowered his shotgun—for the moment.

DADDY DEAREST

Then there was the 12-hour battle round the cabinet table—one hopes someone kept the script—as Netanyahu was cornered in turn by fuming Begin, Livnat and NRP ministers.

As if that wasn't quite enough, somebody's Dad had to get involved.

"It is a wise father that knows his own child"—and if Dad (Ariel Livnat) had heeded the wise Bard, he wouldn't have dragged daughter Linor out of a historic cabinet meeting for an "urgent" telephone call.

She stormed back to the meeting, spluttering breathlessly: "I have an important announcement! My Dad told me the TV news said the Americans will not back the Israeli interpretation of the withdrawal clause."

Ministers were stunned. The prime minister *pausé*. Advisers were summoned *tout de suite*. The cabinet session was halted.

"Get me Ross," barked Bibi at cabinet secretary Danny Navon. "Until this is cleared up, there will be no vote tonight."

Obviously, it was cleared up, since it was a false alarm. Thanks Dad!

A GAMBLE TOO FAR

Excitement and scandal crowd one upon the other so often in this country that we scarcely have time to digest the first before being force fed a second.

Thus Hebron all but erased from the front pages one of the juiciest political scandals we have had for—oh!—days.

Yet the saga of Roni Bar-On, the attorney-general with a Guinness record for the shortest-ever tenure (who managed to resign on the same day as the outgoing previous Attorney-General Michael Ben-Yair) has refused to go away entire-



Ze'ev Binyamin Begin (Israel Sun)

ly. The appointment of Bar-On, an anonymous Likud hack, to the lofty state office of attorney-general was so ludicrous that it aroused as much opposition inside the government as outside it.

Ministers and coalition MKs resented the way Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, in cahoots with Netanyahu, "sprang" the appointment on the cabinet almost as much as they were aghast at Bar-On's monumental unsuitability.

The legal hierarchy and parliamentarians wondered if Netanyahu and Hanegbi were trying to impose a *conciliari* (family lawyer) on the justice system rather than appoint a public trustee.

Once again Netanyahu, he who promised appointments based on "excellence," revealed a rare talent for picking the wrong man at the wrong time for the wrong job.

Ministers may have regretted complaining they knew nothing about Bar-On when he was appointed last Friday. By Sunday noon they knew more about him than anyone could conceivably want to, as the lean, mean and incredibly agile media did the background trawling which Hanegbi had failed to do.

SHORTCOMINGS EXPOSED

These ministers, my own buddies from the Likud, betrayed me," howled Bar-On. He went on to threaten a lawsuit against writer Irit Linor for detailing his heavy sessions at London's high-roller Ritz Casino.

Was it really the poor chap's fault—or those who blessed him from obscurity to limelight? As *Yediot Aharonot*'s star columnist Nahum Barnea put it: "Netanyahu chooses people the way Roni Bar-On gambles in the casino. Do you start with a Bar-On or a Fishler, but with Avigdor Lieberman, the house Bolshevik, and with Tzahi Hanegbi. These people, instead of letting Netanyahu run the state, as he was legally elected to do, are turning him into a gang boss."

As for Hanegbi, the Bar-On affair proved that putting aside a revolver and bicycle chain in favor of a suit and tie does not make one a gentleman.

Hanegbi indeed had to admit he made a mistake in selecting Bar-On, but then promptly picked a fight with Communications Minister Limor Livnat, who told the cabinet Hanegbi had left her to understand that Supreme Court President Aharon Barak had approved the appointment.

Hanegbi had informed Barak of the appointment but the respected judge had not expressed any approval. Quite the contrary—Barak was disappointed and angry that he had not even been consulted on the appointment of an attorney-general.

He expressed immediate reservations about Bar-On and hinted that he lacked front-line qualifications. Barak even commented: "This method of appointment shows a bulldozer mentality derived from a contempt for the opinions of a professional community."

However, instead of running for cover until Hebron blew the storm away, Hanegbi foolishly opted for a lashing-out-all-round strategy. As well as fighting with Livnat, he accused Science Minister (oops, former minister) Benny Begin and Finance Minister Dan Meridor of "sabotaging" the Bar-On appointment.

Hanegbi viciously tore into the mild and gentlemanly Meridor—"himself a political appointment," ranted Hanegbi in reference to Meridor's term as a cabinet secretary in the late Menachem Begin's time. "He's a lawyer as gray as a sack," added Hanegbi for good measure.

Meridor's people responded with dignity: "If Meridor must choose between political loyalty and a public duty to defend the rule of law and proper conduct, he will choose the latter. Hanegbi crossed all red lines and tried to turn the attorney-general's job into a political sinecure."

SRULIK



by DOSH



CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

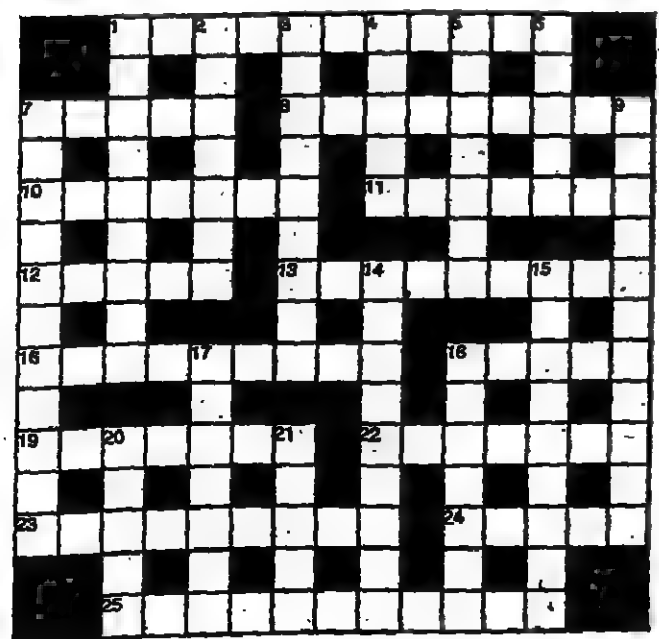
ACROSS

- 1 Fire-prevention device? (8-5)
- 7 Pouch that fits into jodhpurs easily (5)
- 8 Transposition in popular recital (9)
- 10 Rider is poor, breaking down around five (7)
- 11 Letter from America (7)
- 12 Regretting having to undo with key (5)
- 13 Letter-opener (9)
- 16 I toss glue about for people cracking up (9)
- 18 Odd card game (5)
- 19 Worker on lights more reluctant to work after midnight (7)

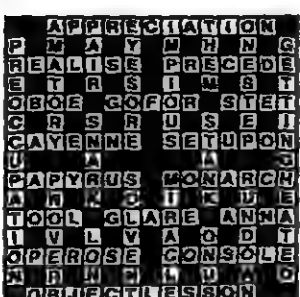
- 22 Royal lady intrigued by unusual nut-tree in nursery? (7)
- 23 Thirty PCs, suffering, take tablets in threes (9)
- 24 Surrounded by climbers, one contended in rivalry (5)
- 25 Hind's antler damaged in backwoods (11)

DOWN

- 1 Concerned with suits of a king, taken in by crooked tailors (9)
- 2 Sense and Sensibility (7)
- 3 Specimens covering three fields (9)
- 4 Eclipse about finished? (5)



SOLUTIONS



Yesterday's Quick Solution
ACROSS: 1 Shedding, 7 Tiers, 8 Rectitude, 9 Bus, 10 Goal, 11 Deduce, 12 Futility, 14 Gestic, 17 Sample, 20 Beam, 20 Tip, 22 Neologism, 23 Adapt, 24 Rhythmic.
DOWN: 1 Spring, 2 Eucalypt, 3 Dale, 4 Nautilus, 5 Lettuce, 6 Acacia, 7 Tequila, 12 Clement, 13 Fortran, 16 Receipt, 18 Clousure, 17 Spirit, 19 Nitrate, 21 Louse.

QUICK CROSSWORD

- ACROSS
- 1 Lewd, indecent (5)
- 4 Inner part of boot (6)
- 9 Across-the-board (7)
- 10 Arise from bed (3-3)
- 11 Dull pain (4)
- 12 Incessantly foolish (7)
- 13 Lout (3)
- 14 Sakata, greet (4)
- 16 High point (4)
- 18 Radar blip (3)
- 20 Pet rodent (7)
- 21 Counterfeit (4)
- 24 Play guitar idly (5)
- 25 Flanes (7)
- 26 Earnings (6)
- 27 Lickens (5)

- DOWN
- 1 Mendicant (5)
- 2 Windlass (5)
- 3 Story (4)
- 5 Bedtime drink (8)
- 6 Basil (7)
- 7 Bevel (5)
- 8 Encumbrance, bluff (5)
- 13 Veteran (3-5)
- 15 Butterfly (7)
- 17 Dissertation, essay (6)
- 18 Cut back (5)
- 19 Hamper (6)
- 22 Dwelling (5)
- 23 Espy (4)

THE YELADIM SHELANU FOUNDATION

invites you to a special event, benefiting the
Schneider Children's Medical Center of Israel,
Petah Tikva
on
Tuesday, January 28, at 7:30 p.m.,
at
Gan Hafikus
In the presence of the
Minister of Health, Mr. Yehoshua Matza
MC: Sigal Shakhmon (from the Wheel of Fortune).
and Michaela Berko.

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The Jerusalem Post & ZOA House
Friday Morning Forum
QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

DAVID BAR-ILLAN

Prime Minister's Senior Policy Adviser
FRIDAY, 24th JANUARY 10:30 a.m.
ZOA House, 1 Daniel Frisch,
corner Ibn Gvirol, Tel Aviv.
Admission NIS 10
early booking: ZOA House Tel. 03-6959341
Moderator: Tom O'Dwyer
Foreign Editor, The Jerusalem Post

AGAINST THE GRAIN

Oh no, the stock market's going up!

By HILLEL HALKIN

185. 192. 198. 210. 220. 227. 230. It's not my blood pressure. It's the Tel Aviv stock market.

But it could be my blood pressure, because I hate to see the market go up. That's mostly, I suppose, because I don't have an agenda in it. I never have had one. I feel like a fool when my money that is earning 4% in the bank could have earned 40% in stocks. When the market plunges, my self-esteem soars.

Why the stock market is shooting up now is a good question. Markets are supposed to reflect economic trends. That means they go up the fastest when the economy expands, businesses increase their profits, the public has more money to spend, and inflation and interest rates stay low.

But the Israeli economy is currently in a process of mild contraction, exports have been clobbered by an artificially weak dollar, the budget deficit is still too large, inflation remains higher than almost anywhere in the First World, interest rates are high too, unemployment is on the rise, and the political situation is unpromising. Nor does anything seem to be

on the verge of taking a dramatic turn for the better. So why the sudden surge?

Maybe because the fix is on again.

It's always been that way in Israel. The market is small enough to be easily manipulable, and the manipulators periodically pump it up and bail out before it bursts just as more and more small investors are climbing giddily aboard. Then they buy back when stocks are low and start all over again. That's what happened in 1982-83, during the year of the magic bank-share bonanza. It happened in 1993-94, in the year of the great Middle East peace boom. And it may be about to happen now too.

Or am I just imagining it because I've been through it once myself, not in Israel but in the United States?

It started in 1968 or '69, when someone I knew, a sharp Wall Street operator, bought up a derelict company that I'll call Fastbreak Communications. Fastbreak was selling for three-and-a-quarter on the New York exchange at the time, and my friend Mel phoned me and said, "Look, kid, I shouldn't be giving

you an inside tip like this, but Fastbreak is going to go sky-high. Buy all you can."

I bought all I could: \$3,000 worth.

And indeed, Fastbreak began to take off. Within months it rose to five, to ten, to 15, to 20. It dipped a point or two, steadied, and began to climb again - 25, 30, 35, 40, 42. I was sitting on \$40,000-worth of profits.

And then Fastbreak began to drop. At first slowly. To 41. To 40. To 39. To 38. At 37, I called Mel. "I'm thinking of selling," I said. "What do you say?"

"Kid," said Mel, "it's just another temporary dip. Stick with it. Fastbreak will hit 100 before the end of the year."

I stuck with it, before the end of the year Fastbreak was back to three. It was only later that I found out that the first to start dumping stock, when it was still selling at 42, was Mel.

I also found out that, during the months of Fastbreak's meteoric rise, he was busy planting rumors everywhere in the financial world about the company's sensational plans for growth.

That is not what the Arab aggressors themselves called it: their bloodthirsty, blood-curdling statements of that period (and for a long time afterwards) are on record.

B/S says that: "The equation of ancient Hebrews with modern Jews is... questionable." Their source is that French-Jewish rabid anti-Zionist Professor Maxime Rodinson's guess that "It is very probable that the so-called Arab inhabitants of Palestine... have much more of the ancient Hebrews' blood than most of the Jews of the Diaspora."

Since Israel, to the best of my knowledge, is practically the only developed country that does not tax stock-market profits, it hardly needs to be pointed out how economically absurd this policy - curiously enough, a hand-me-down from our once-socialist gov-

ernments - is and how pathetic attempts to revise it have been.

Even the Netanyahu administration's handling of the past week's attorney-general fiasco looks professional in comparison with the Rabin administration's flipflop three years ago, when it first reversed its campaign promise not to tax market profits and then quickly reversed its reversal. The ostensible reason, you may recall, was to keep a nervous market from dropping further, but the market in fact, after some initial flurrying, did not appreciably fall when the tax was imposed and did not rise when it was revoked. Why should it have? The tax was far smaller than what Israelis pay on earned income and did not pose the slightest deterrent to serious investors.

But the wolves howled, and Rabin turned and ran, and Netanyahu and the country learned the lesson. During last month's budget debate, which raged around increasing government revenue by raising taxes on working wives and charging health-insured patients for visits to the doctor, the words "stock-market tax" were not even whispered once.

231, 233, 234. I can't wait for the next crash.

Dry Bones



FUNDS

Welcoming foreign donors

By SEVERLEE BLACK

I'm prompted by the news that many hundreds of Hadassah ladies will be visiting Israel next week for their annual conference, to make a special appeal to friends from abroad wishing to donate money to a worthwhile cause.

While everyone has a pet charity, our three funds for old folk, children in care, and new immigrants cover such a wide range that we seem to satisfy most given; the result being that over one third of the million shekels we raise every year comes from overseas.

My message this week is addressed to those Hadassah delegates, tourists in hotels or staying with family or friends, visiting VIPs, businessmen or traveling salesmen: remember your visit here by making sure your gift will be put to good use.

Pick up the phone, ring me or one of my assistants at (02) 623-3986 and make a donation on your international credit card.

The needs of those on the bottom of the pile are endless and I can assure you that any money you give will be put to very good use. Our listing this week is a little thin, prompting me to remind all of you out there to send in today to The Jerusalem Post Funds, P.O. Box 81, Jerusalem 91000.

Donors in the United States wishing to receive tax benefits, can send their donations to: Friends of The Jerusalem Post Funds, 211 E. 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017. Please designate in your letter to which fund you wish to donate.

FORSAKE ME NOT

NIS 1,633 From the Estate of Yosef Poritz.
NIS 350 Anon., Moshav Ramat Zvi.
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NIS 180 In honor of our cousin Miriam Bernstein's 80th birthday - Alan and Leila Goodman, Savoy.
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NIS 72 In memory of Bobbi Evelyn - her family, J'm.
NIS 96 In honor of Annon and Ilana Vogel-Valk's marriage, December 17, 1996 - Harriet and Kalman Vogel, Netanya.
NIS 180 In loving memory of our parents, Pauline and Benjamin Gluckman and Yosef (G) on their Tzavah yahrzeit - Izhar and Sandy Ironi, Gan Yavne.
NIS 335 In honor of our children, Dabyla, Jacob, Benjamin, Derek and Valerie - Laurel and Dennis Brown, Houston.
NIS 300 The Jewish Community of Japan.
NIS 220 In memory of my wife, Bernadette - Nemesio Alday, Cleveland, OH.
NIS 100 In loving memory of my husband,

David, and my daughter, Naomi - Valerie Adelson, Kensington, CA.
NIS 100 In memory of Dr. Zvi Rosen, J'm, and Yosef Rosen, Tivon - Marilee Alshuler, NY.
NIS 75 Anon., Skokie, IL.
NIS 336 In the name of our beloved David - Doris and Matthew Yarcowizer, Wynnewood, PA.
NIS 350 Good health to Sonia and Borah Brown - Rachel Grindlinger and Anne Hedy Brown, Mountkiss, NJ.
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NIS 225 Karen Ellis, Norwalk, CT.
NIS 320 Robert Deutsch, Madison, IL.
NIS 15 R. Asper, Winnipeg, Canada.
NIS 110 In honor of grandchildren Adina, Devora, Shoshana, Scott, Akiva, Michelle and Yair Davidson - Phillip Davidson, Silver Spring, MD.

New Donations: NIS 2,663.50
Totals: NIS 52,004
(\$1,568 (other currencies converted into shekels))

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NIS 1633 From the estate of Yosef Poritz.
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NIS 15 Terence and Joanne Miller, Markham, Ontario.

New Donations: NIS 1,984
Totals: NIS 4,625
(\$1,461)

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NIS 115 Sha'arei Ratzon, the Congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Israel, J'm.
NIS 330 In honor of our children, Dabyla, Jacob, Benjamin, Derek and Valerie - Laurel and Dennis Brown, Houston, TX.
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NIS 18 Reva Goldberger, Silver Spring, MD.
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NIS 110 In honor of grandchildren Adina, Devora, Shoshana, Scott, Akiva, Michelle and Yair Davidson - Phillip Davidson, Silver Spring, MD.
NIS 55 Louis Grey, Norwalk, CT.

New Donations: NIS 115
Totals: NIS 815
(\$381)

A VIEW FROM NOV

By MOSHE KOHN

Powerful evidence indicates that the so-called "Original Sin" was not Eve and Adam's eating of that apple, or whatever the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil was.

The real sin was their unrepentant refusal to acknowledge error and responsibility for error: when they were caught out, Adam blamed Eve, then Eve blamed the serpent, and neither expressed remorse. They had not yet learned that when you point that accusing finger at the other, you point three fingers at yourself.

The talmudic Sages tell us that it all happened because Adam talked too much. All God told him about that tree was that eating of it would result in his death. When the serpent tried to lure Eve, she initially resisted by saying that God had also warned that just touching the tree would be fatal. This, the Sages tell us, indicates that in reporting God's warning to Eve, Adam had embellished it by adding a *humra* (stricture) of his own. The serpent, knowing the facts, gave Eve a shove, so that she fell against the tree. "See?" he told her, "you didn't die, and you won't die either if you eat of its fruit."

The rest is history.
(See Genesis 2:16-17 and 3:1-3 and Avot d'Rabbi Nathan, Baber edition, version A, 1.)

THE PASSING of the buck, with the accompanying finger-pointing (adamitis for short), seems to be endemic throughout humanity, an ailment the cure for which will probably take immensely more time to find than it will take to find the cures for cancer and AIDS.

Especially susceptible to it are children.

The 'Original Sin'

indifferent drivers, bureaucrats of both the public and private sectors, cabinet ministers, academics, and, of course, journalists.

Let's look at one typical adamitic response to allegations of error.

On December 6 I discussed the 1993 fourth edition of a textbook on *Politics in the Middle East* by James Bill, professor of government and director of international studies at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, and Professor Robert Springborg, of Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. I cited a small sampling of a large number of sins of commission and omission in chapter 7 - "The Arab-Israeli Connection" - of the book (hereafter referred to as B/S).

Two readers, Dr. Jerome S. Kaufman, of Bloomfield Hills, Minnesota, and Karl Kaplan, of East Brunswick, New Jersey, brought my column to the attention of W&M's president, Timothy J. Sullivan.

In his reply to them, Sullivan says there are "factual inaccuracies" in the column. The only one he cites is my erroneous reference to Bill as professor of history. He does not cite a single example of the "many... quotations" he alleges I took "out of context."

Following are a few of the book's sins, some of which I originally cited.

B/S relies almost exclusively on Jewish, Arab and other radical left, post-Zionist, anti-Zionist, anti-Israel sources.

B/S speaks of Jewish "perceptions of abiding antisemitism." "Perceptions," or historical fact?

B/S has it that the invasion of newborn Israel by the armies of five Arab states in 1948 was "interventions... into the civil war that had been raging since December 1947 between Jews and Palestinians."

That is not what the Arab aggressors themselves called it: their bloodthirsty, blood-curdling statements of that period (and for a long time afterwards) are on record.

B/S says that: "The equation of ancient Hebrews with modern Jews is... questionable." Their source is that French-Jewish rabid anti-Zionist Professor Maxime Rodinson's guess that "It is very probable that the so-called Arab inhabitants of Palestine... have much more of the ancient Hebrews' blood than most of the Jews of the Diaspora."

Since when, except in the minds of racist, antisemitic Arab and pro-Arab propagandists, is the Eretz Yisrael issue one of race?

According to B/S, it is only a "perception" of ours that "Arabs [are] bent on the destruction of Israel." Never mind all the Arab declarations about driving Israel into the sea and continuing *jihad* until, as Nobel Peace laureate Yasser Arafat has put it, the Palestinian flag is hoisted on Jerusalem's mosques and churches. (I wonder what he has in mind for the synagogues.)

B/S has it that "between September 1947 and September 1949 over 700,000 Palestinians... fled their homes."

The actual total who fled during and in the immediate wake of the 1948 war, based on estimates by "Palestinian" spokesmen at the time and by UN Special Representative in Palestine Count Folke Bernadotte in his report to the UN of September 16, 1948, was no more than 420,000 at most (see documentation in *Background: Fact and Fantasy in Palestine* by Shmuel Katz).

B/S quotes a rabid anti-Israel source, Erika Childers, to put the entire blame for the flight of Eretz Yisrael Arabs from their

homes in 1948 on Israel. It does not quote any of the Arab authorities (including the then-prime minister of Syria and leading "Palestinian" spokesmen) or refugees of that time who, in a most rare deviation from adamitis, took responsibility for the creation of the "Palestinian refugee problem."

B/S identifies Joan Peters, author of the classic and indispensable *From Time Immemorial*, as "a Zionist author." It doesn't identify other authors it cites by the various political labels like anti-Zionist, radical left, pro-Arab etc.

I HEARTILY endorse W&M President Sullivan's recommendation to Kaufman and Kaplan to "get a copy of the book itself and read it in its entirety." I urge all those interested to do so and read my quotations in their contexts, and see for themselves all the other examples of how B/S misleads. Then you will appreciate the tragedy of Sullivan's assertion that B/S "is the leading textbook on Middle Eastern political systems in the United States." And you will see that, contrary to Sullivan, I am arguing less with B/S's arguments than with its misrepresentation of the facts.

As for the "wide variety of scholars" who, according to Sullivan, gave the book "highly favorable reviews" - that tells us less about the book's reliability than about those alleged scholars' judgment.

Sullivan also tells us that Bill "has lectured at several major universities in Israel" and that the book has been used in courses offered in universities here.

This, too, tells us less about the book's reliability than about the faulty judgment of the people organizing those lectures and teaching those courses.

The last mishna in Tractate *Sota* [49a] describes what the world will be like just before the messiah comes. Our sages present a description of a society gone awry, with impudence abounding and youth reviling their elders. The description ends with the words, "We have no one to rely on but our Father in heaven." I once heard a wise Jew suggest that this final

Shabbat Shalom

Man's role in the world

By SHLOMO RISKIN

"This month shall be unto you the beginning of months. It shall be the first month of the year to you." (Ex. 12:2)

Once every four weeks, usually between the seventh and 11th day of the Hebrew month, the congregants do not rush home immediately after the Saturday night services to recite Havdala, but first gather under the open sky. Once they have made sure the moon is not obscured by clouds, they recite special prayers sanctifying the moon, and generally conclude their chanting with a dance.

To some, the custom may sound strange, but it is quite important. Before a new month can be declared, witnesses must testify before the Sanhedrin as to exactly what they have seen of the moon; they are even expected to violate the Sabbath in order to get to Jerusalem as quickly as possible and give their testimony. After all, only on the basis of the witnesses' report do we know whether the previous month had 29 or 30 days, and hence on which day to celebrate the festivals this month.

Why does this commandment receive the honor of being first and merit the public involvement of the most respected religio-legal institution in Israel? In fact, Rashi asks why the Torah begins with the account of creation, when it should have begun with the first commandment given to Israel. The passage he suggests as a substitute for "In the beginning" is "This month shall be to you..."

Ancient man worshipped the moon. Appearing and disappearing in the skies, it was inevitable that it became the symbol of mys-

tery and magic. Man's deepest secrets, fears and madnesses were ascribed to this force in the sky.

With the advent of the Egyptian plagues, the world was turned on its head. Every Egyptian's worst nightmare came true, from the nature-deity Nile River turning to blood to the moon totally disappearing, leaving Egypt in pitch darkness. But these aberrations weren't haphazard expressions of the nature-god gone awry. They came as a legitimate punishment from the God of ethical monotheism for immoral slavery and oppression. The message of the exodus is the freedom of Israel to establish a world of commitment and compassion, a society of love and justice, working toward peace and redemption.

The first commandment begins: "This month shall be to you..." You are not to be the moon's; the moon is to be yours! Just as the Israelites have become physically freed from Egyptian slavery, we must be spiritually freed from a superstitious dependency on the moon. The Torah tells us we can control and subdue nature, our own erratic natures as well as the mysteries of nature all about us, through the logic and rationality of ethical living as directed by the Torah and explicated by the religio-legal experts. You are in control of your life, your time and your society - this moon is yours - if only you take proper advantage of God's teaching, Moses' written law and the Sanhedrin's oral law.

The monthly sanctification of the moon includes the following petition: "May it be your will O Lord... to readjust the deficiency of the moon, so that it may no longer be reduced in size; may the light of the moon again be like the light of the sun, as it was during

the first seven days of creation."

Do we really expect that one day the moon will be the same size as the sun? Wouldn't that spell disaster for our planet?

Quoting a midrash, Rashi explains that the moon and sun were initially equal in size. The moon then appeared before God complaining that "two kings cannot rule with one crown." Since the moon, smitten with jealousy, wanted all the light for itself, God reduced its light, while the sun's remained the same.

Jealousy is probably the most destructive force in the world, the real root of all evil. Cain's jealousy of Abel brought about the first murder; Joseph's brothers' enmity is the prototype for the causeless hatred (jealousy) responsible for the destruction of both Temples. We sanctify the moon as it moves towards growth, expressing our faith that jealousy can be overcome, human nature can be perfected, the world can be redeemed! The primordial sin can be overcome and fixed. The two lights can once again become equal!

By combining these two ideas - the moon as a symbol of redemption and the moon as a symbol of our determination of time - we conclude that the Jewish dream of redemption depends on us. Just as we have a share in determining how it affects our immediate lives so, too, redemption should not be perceived as a natural phenomenon. Just as the rabbis leaders sanctify the moon and declare the times for the festivals ("These are the festivals of God which you shall declare at their appointed time" - B.T. *Rosh Hashana* 25a), so must we assume our role as active partners in the march toward redemption.

THE JERUSALEM POST
AACI Business and Professional Forum and The Jerusalem Post

The Eye of the Storm
The Dynamic of Change in the World of Corporate Media

with
Jeff Barak, editor of The Jerusalem Post
Dr. Yoram Perry, former editor of Davar

Israel is on the cutting edge of the information revolution. Join other English-speaking professionals for coffee and cake as we learn how these two men navigate change in major news media.

When: Monday, February 3. Registration 5:30 to 6:00 p.m.
Programs begin at 6:00 p.m.

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Cost: AACI members NIS 30, non-members NIS 50

Advance registration (with payment) by January 27. NIS 5 surcharge for at-the-door payment. Space limited. Priority will be given to participants who register in advance.

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BITS & BYTES

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

Bezeq-Call to build network for the Israel Police

Bezeq-Call is building a communications network that will connect all 105 Israel Police exchanges throughout the country in a private network. The system, which is expected to substantially reduce police telephone expenses, will integrate advanced technologies, including ATM and frame relay. The system will mean that calls between stations will be transferred as internal calls and calls from a station to private citizens in different area codes will be relayed through a police station in the specific area, rendering the call local.

Integrated Technology USA wins innovation award

Integrated Technology USA, Inc. (Amex: ITH), which operates two Jerusalem-based subsidiaries, recently announced that its CompuNet 2000 Internet telephony product won the Innovations '97 award for computer accessories at the International Winter Consumer Electronics Show in Las Vegas. CompuNet 2000 is a PC keyboard that allows users to make conventional telephone calls and, when used with Internet telephone software, to make phone calls over the Internet. The device also permits the conferencing of Internet and conventional phone calls.

The company also announced that it has shipped 1,000 units of 2000 CompuPhone, a PC keyboard that enables users to make and receive telephone calls using the keyboard without the need for a conventional telephone or modem, to Calidata Systems of Neutral Bay, Australia.

Magal announces \$1.3m. order

Magal Security Systems, Ltd. (Nasdaq: MAGSP) of Yehud recently announced that the Schiphol Airport Authority in Amsterdam, Holland has purchased three new AISYS 370B automatic bomb detection systems. The \$1.3m. order, which brings the total number of AISYS machines operating in the airport up to seven, also includes the upgrade of two previously purchased AISYS machines.

Opal and Siemens announce strategic alliance

Opal, Inc., which was recently purchased by Applied Materials, and Siemens microelectronics Center, a subsidiary of Siemens AG, recently announced that they have entered into a joint development agreement. According to the agreement, the companies will jointly develop system capabilities needed for the measurement of sub-quarter micron structures, based on the current Opal system. Active research will be performed by engineers from both companies at Siemens' Dresden facility and Opal's development site in Ness Ziona.

Top Image Systems signs four agreements

Top Image Systems, Ltd. (Nasdaq: TISAF) of Ramat Gan recently announced the signing of four new agreements with Asian companies. Pericom Imaging Pte., Ltd., of Singapore, ComputerVision Asia, Ltd. of Hong Kong, Prime Systems Plus of the Philippines and Chengdu Maipu Electric of China have become the newest resellers of the company's form processing and data capture automated systems. The company also sells its products in Israel.

Virtual Jerusalem records record number of hits

Virtual Jerusalem, the largest site on the Internet for Israel and Jewish related material, recorded a record number of hits during the month of December. With 8.8 million hits, it doubled its previous record of 4.3 for the month of November. The site provides gateway to other sites, such as E-mail to God, a service that allows people to send a prayer to the Western Wall via the Internet. Kotel Kalm, an actual camera that is positioned to look down at the Kotel, and the news section, which includes a daily rebroadcast of news from Israel Radio and Arutz 7. Virtual Jerusalem can be located at www.virtual.co.il.

Dor Energy signs \$400m. gas station deal with Poland

By DAVID HARRIS

Dor Energy and the Polish state oil company Centrala Produktow Nastoiwysz yesterday signed a \$400 million deal to construct 400 gas stations in Poland over the next five years.

Dor Energy, which is part of the Dankner Group, CPN and a second foreign company that requested anonymity, will invest some \$200m. in the first year, as the program of repairing existing gas stations and building new ones commences.

The signature of the contract took place in Haifa, in the presence of Polish Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz.

Dankner, which already has interests in Poland, is looking to make further investments there.

"Poland, in my eyes, is the young tiger of Europe," group chairman Shmuel Dankner said. "We are looking at widening our infrastructure and other interests. There is very great potential there."



Dankner Group chairman Shmuel Dankner (from left), Polish Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, and CPN general manager Malyska Zery shake hands at yesterday's signing ceremony in Haifa.

Before initialing the deal, Dankner had taken into account what he sees as "the stable, constitutional government and court system," which he said are all too often absent from other developing

European nations. "The network of gas stations will be modern with state-of-the-art equipment," Dankner said.

The group's interests include energy, chemicals, plastics, communications and real estate. The company began investing in Poland in 1994, when it purchased a share in the Polish telecommunications company RP Telekom. The company won the contract to establish telephone infrastructure systems in 16 regions with 10 million inhabitants. Five of the regions already are connected to the network.

Poland now is becoming a focus of increased Israeli interest. In September, Communications Minister Limor Livnat paid a three-day visit there to discuss a cooperation pact between the two countries in the field of communications. She also looked into possibilities for Israeli involvement in other projects and encouraging private investors into Poland. The Amos satellite is also set to provide services to Poland.

Japanese firm likely to cancel \$250m. industrial and tourism investment in Omer

By DAVID HARRIS

Plans for a \$250 million Japanese industrial and tourism investment in Omer will "almost certainly" be cancelled, the town's mayor, MK Pini Badash (Thomex), said yesterday.

A decision by the Rekoto Kasai company to abandon the project, may be linked to the change in Israel's political leadership, but is more likely connected to the decision to reduce the amount of grant aid available under the Capital Investment Aid Law, he said.

"I am sorry to report that what I predicted to the Knesset Finance Committee is now coming true," Badash said yesterday.

As part of the government's financial reforms, it has reduced the amount of capital investment aid for large projects in high-priority development A zones from 34 percent to 20%.

The complex, if it goes ahead, would include high-tech industries, research and development institutes and a tourism project, spread over 600 dunams. It would have 200,000 square meters of industrial space. The \$100m. tourism complex would be adjacent to the factories and include a 300-room hotel.

"We are reexamining the deal in the light of political changes and the alterations to the Capital Investment Aid Law," said one of the company's Israeli representatives, who are scheduled to meet Badash today.

Neither Investments Center director David Baruch, nor his superior, Industry and Trade Ministry Director-General Yehoshua Gleiman were available for comment yesterday.

Other Japanese companies have decided in recent months to either cancel or postpone investments in

Israel, though more for political reasons than economic ones. Japanese Ambassador Haruhiko Shibuya said in November that three of the world's largest hold-

ing companies, all household names, were considering large investments in Israel early last year. Now they are waiting to see how the peace process develops.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Petaih (foreign currency deposit rates) (11.9.96)					
Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	9 MONTHS	12 MONTHS	
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.750	5.000	5.375	5.375	
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	3.875	4.000	4.250	4.250	
Pound sterling (£100,000)	1.625	1.625	1.125	1.125	
German mark (DM 200,000)	0.825	0.750	1.000	1.000	
Swiss franc (SF 20 million)	0.825	0.750	1.000	1.000	
Yen (10 million yen)					
(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)					
Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (18.1.97)					
Currency/Unit	CHECKS AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES		Rate
	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	
U.S. dollar	3.5732	3.6370	3.17	3.33	3.6189
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	3.2280	3.2801	1.99	2.10	3.2890
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	2.0228	2.0621	1.51	1.57	2.0510
U.S. dollar (\$50,000)	1.5036	1.5408	1.03	1.07	1.5758
U.S. dollar (\$25,000)	1.0018	1.0204	0.68	0.73	1.0479
U.S. dollar (\$10,000)	0.4007	0.4083	0.27	0.28	0.4007
U.S. dollar (\$5,000)	0.2003	0.2041	0.14	0.14	0.2003
U.S. dollar (\$2,500)	0.1001	0.1020	0.07	0.07	0.1001
U.S. dollar (\$1,000)	0.0500	0.0510	0.03	0.03	0.0500
U.S. dollar (\$500)	0.0250	0.0255	0.01	0.01	0.0250
U.S. dollar (\$250)	0.0125	0.0127	0.00	0.00	0.0125
U.S. dollar (\$100)	0.0062	0.0063	0.00	0.00	0.0062
U.S. dollar (\$50)	0.0031	0.0032	0.00	0.00	0.0031
U.S. dollar (\$25)	0.0015	0.0016	0.00	0.00	0.0015
U.S. dollar (\$10)	0.0007	0.0008	0.00	0.00	0.0007
U.S. dollar (\$5)	0.0004	0.0004	0.00	0.00	0.0004
U.S. dollar (\$2)	0.0002	0.0002	0.00	0.00	0.0002
U.S. dollar (\$1)	0.0001	0.0001	0.00	0.00	0.0001
U.S. dollar (\$0.50)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.25)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.10)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.05)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.02)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.01)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.00000000000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.000000000000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000000000000005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000000000000002)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.0000000000000000000000000000000000000001)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000
U.S. dollar (\$0.005)	0.0000	0.0000	0.00	0.00	0.0000

Key Representative Rates

US DollarNIS 3.2630 -0.15%
SterlingNIS 5.4758 +0.15%
MarkNIS 2.0510 -0.23%

NEW STOCK MARKETS

New York market indexes

	Last	Change
DJ Industrials	9788.37	+39.49
DJ 30	9788.37	+39.49
DJ 100	9788.37	+39.49
DJ 200	9788.37	+39.49
DJ 500	9788.37	+39.49
DJ 1000	9788.37	+39.49
DJ 1500	9788.37	+39.49
DJ 2000	9788.37	+39.49
DJ 2500	9788.37	+39.49
DJ 3000	9788.37	+39.49

NYSE stocks

	Last	Change
NYSE 100	9788.37	+39.49
NYSE 200	9788.37	+39.49
NYSE 500	9788.37	+39.49
NYSE 1000	9788.37	+39.49
NYSE 1500	9788.37	+39.49
NYSE 2000	9788.37	+39.49
NYSE 2500	9788.37	+39.49
NYSE 3000	9788.37	+39.49
NYSE 3500	9788.37	+39.49
NYSE 4000	9788.37	+39.49

Other stock market indexes

	Last	Change
FTSE 100	2391.13	+0.76%
FTSE 200	2391.13	+0.76%
FTSE 500	2391.13	+0.76%
FTSE 1000	2391.13	+0.76%
FTSE 1500	2391.13	+0.76%
FTSE 2000	2391.13	+0.76%
FTSE 2500	2391.13	+0.76%
FTSE 3000	2391.13	+0.76%
FTSE 3500	2391.13	+0.76%
FTSE 4000	2391.13	+0.76%

Israeli stocks in US

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Commodity Trading Ltd. (Jan 15-JAN-97)

INTL MONEY MARKETS

Libor rates

	Last	Change
3 months	5.75	-0.01
6 months	5.75	-0.01
9 months	5.75	-0.01
12 months	5.75	-0.01
15 months	5.75	-0.01
18 months	5.75	-0.01
21 months	5.75	-0.01
24 months	5.75	-0.01
27 months	5.75	-0.01
30 months	5.75	-0.01

Foreign financial data courtesy of

CommStock Trading Ltd.

Futures, Options, Stocks, Bonds and Mutual Funds
34 Ben Yehuda St., Jerusalem
Tel. 02-249693, 03-5758826
Fax. 02-244876

INTL COMMODITIES AND METALS

US commodities

	Last	Change
Cocoa (Mar)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Jul)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Nov)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Mar)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Jul)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Nov)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Mar)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Jul)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Nov)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Mar)	1200	-9

London commodities

	Last	Change
Cocoa (Mar)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Jul)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Nov)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Mar)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Jul)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Nov)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Mar)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Jul)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Nov)	1200	-9
Cocoa (Mar)	1200	-9

Spot market metals (US)

	Last	Change
Copper	34.00	+1.2
Aluminum	1.00	+0.05
Zinc	1.00	+0.05
Nickel	1.00	+0.05
Lead	1.00	+0.05
Tin	1.00	+0.05
Gold	1.00	+0.05
Silver	1.00	+0.05
Palladium	1.00	+0.05
Platinum	1.00	+0.05

New York metal futures

	Last	Change
Copper	34.00	+1.2
Aluminum	1.00	+0.05
Zinc	1.00	+0.05
Nickel	1.00	+0.05
Lead	1.00	+0.05
Tin	1.00	+0.05
Gold	1.00	+0.05
Silver	1.00	+0.05
Palladium	1.00	+0.05
Platinum	1.00	+0.05

London metal futures

	Last	Change
Copper	34.00	+1.2
Aluminum	1.00	+0.05
Zinc	1.00	+0.05
Nickel	1.00	+0.05
Lead	1.00	+0.05
Tin	1.00	+0.05
Gold	1.00	+0.05
Silver	1.00	+0.05
Palladium	1.00	+0.05
Platinum	1.00	+0.05

Month in parenthesis signals contract exp. date

Commodity Trading Ltd. (Jan 15-JAN-97)

TEL AVIV STOCKS

Multi-sided trading

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Two-sided trading

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Property, Building & Agriculture

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Trade & Services

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Energy

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Chemicals

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Telecommunications

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Transportation

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Healthcare

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Food & Beverage

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Textiles

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Metals

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Other

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Commodity Trading Ltd. (Jan 15-JAN-97)

Stocks up on accord

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

FELICE MARANZ

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Two-Sided Index

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Maof Index

	Last	Change
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05
AMC	1.12	+0.05

Investors will be watching

Israeli companies traded in New York today for an indication of whether shares in Tel Aviv will continue to gain in days ahead.

Shares rose for a second day

Shares rose for a second day yesterday as investors bought shares in the wake of the Hebron agreement, seen as reviving the flagging peace process.

Stocks leading gains included

Cla Electronic Industries, Koor Industries Ltd. and its subsidiary Makhteshim Chemical Works, Osem Investments and Bank Hapoalim.

The Maof Index of 25 issues

rose 1.27 percent to 248.14 and the Two-Sided Index of 100 issues rose 0.76 percent to 239.13.

The general bond index rose 0.09 percent

Over the week, the Maof Index rose 5.3% and the Two-Sided Index rose 5.1%.

Foreign investors are coming

because of the agreement, said Dan Alt, a broker at Tel Aviv firm Nesuah Trading. "The stocks that are gaining, like Osem, Bank Hapoalim and Makhteshim, are stocks that foreigners like."

Osem jumped 5.25%, Bank Hapoalim rose 3.25%

and Makhteshim gained 4%. Koor rose 2.25% and Cla Electronic gained 3.75%. Chemical shares were mixed.

Dead Sea Works closed unchanged

Dead Sea Bromine fell 1.5% and Israel Chemicals Ltd., both companies' parent company, rose 2%.

Supersol rose 1.5%

Shkem, from which Supersol last month agreed to acquire 26 food stores, fell 2%. Shkem's parent company, Elico Holdings, fell 2.5%.

Bezeq fell 0.25%

Of 970 shares trading across the exchange, about eight shares fell for every five that rose. Some NIS 155.2 million worth of shares changed hands, NIS 45.9m, below Wednesday's level and about 80 percent higher than December's daily average of NIS 84.6m.

Israeli companies influenced by

trading in New York include Teva Pharmaceutical Industries, which fell 2.75% after its American Depository Receipts fell 1.1% to 32 3/4 yesterday. In early trading yesterday Teva's ADRs were up 1/2.

Cla Electronic is also influenced

by trading in Tel Aviv. Cla Electronic, which does not trade in Tel Aviv, said it expects to report that 1996 sales rose at least 28%.

BCI's shares in New York were

up 3/8 to 2 7/8 in yesterday's early trading. (Bloomberg)

FTSE hits record close

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PM: Not all our ideals are within reach any more

By DAVID MAKOVSKY,
JON IMMANUEL and LIAT COLLINS

Israel agreed to redeploy in Hebron because there is a "different reality" as a result of the Oslo accords, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said last night, adding that the ideological concepts he grew up believing are "not all within reach anymore."

Speaking at a press conference last night, Netanyahu said that by moving forward on Hebron, he was acting in accordance with the definition of leadership, which requires making hard decisions. Leadership, he said, means generating a "meeting ground between vision and reality. This is leadership."

At the same time, Netanyahu rejected the notion he was abandoning the Likud ideology.

"I don't accept these fashionable notions that there is no more Likud, and it is the end of ideology. There is a different Likud," he said, adding that his government could not ignore the situation it inherited. He reiterated that the agreement was better than the framework accord worked out by Labor, but admitted it is "not perfect" and

that "dangers remained."

He said his beliefs in the "most important" parts of his credo remain strong, such as a commitment to a united Jerusalem and to retaining access to parts of biblical Israel such as Beit-El. "Beit-El speaks to me as I walk there," Netanyahu said.

When asked whether the Hebron accord has cemented his relationship with Yasser Arafat, Netanyahu gave slightly differing answers. When asked in Hebrew, he suggested that there are "no personal ties," but rather that it was in the interests of the parties to move forward.

Yet, when asked in English, he didn't answer directly, saying "personal relations are important" but not as important as "relationships between two peoples."

Meanwhile, US officials were offended when some Likud MKs suggested that the refusal of the US to disclose the contents of a letter of assurance to Yasser Arafat meant that Washington may be acting duplicitously by giving contradictory letters to the US and the Palestinians on the issue of Israel's designating further IDF pullbacks in the West Bank.

"There are no contradictory let-



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (Brian Hendler)

ters," US Ambassador Martin Indyk said.

The State Department said: "The letters of assurance... refers to the process of further redeployment as an Israeli responsibility, which includes its designating specific military locations."

Commenting on the US letters, Marwan Kanafani, spokesman for the Hebron negotiations and a close aide to Palestinian Authority

Chairman Yasser Arafat, denied on Palestine Radio that Israel can unilaterally decide from which territories to withdraw during the next three phases of redeployment or that the US backs such a unilateral decision.

"We raised this in a meeting yesterday [Wednesday] with the American side. We do not agree that any party should be forced by the other party's decision, especially when it is connected with withdrawal. There should be a general understanding that the purpose of the peace process is to end the Israeli occupation."

US Secretary of State Warren Christopher's letter to Netanyahu, which says, "I have advised Chairman Arafat of US views on Israel's process of redeploying its forces" does not say what those US views are. Kanafani said that in the letter of assurance sent by Christopher to Arafat, Christopher does not say that the US supports a unilateral decision by Israel.

"There is no such text. If there would have been we would not have accepted it. It has to be understood that the peace is a matter for agreement. This means that no party can take 100% of what it wants."

The Palestinians have stated that by the third redeployment 80% of the West Bank will be in area A or B. Currently 27% is in areas A and B. The highest Israeli estimate is 50%. The Beilin-Abu Mazen plan calls for handing over 90-93% in a final settlement.

Abu Mazen - Mahmoud Abbas, Arafat's deputy - speaking to Israel Radio's Arabic service yesterday, did not reveal the contents of the letter but said that the letter "assures us that there is a witness who will push Israel to implement the agreement if she tries to avoid it."

At the start of yesterday's Knesset debate on the Hebron Agreement, several MKs, led by Alex Lubotsky (Third Way) demanded the House be presented with any letter from Christopher to Arafat.

In the Likud faction meeting, Ze'ev Begin, who resigned yesterday as science minister over the agreement, warned his colleagues not to rely on US letters and promises "because they ignore the existence of another player in the field [the Palestinians]."

Cabinet Secretary Danny Naveh sent an urgent letter to Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon stat-

ing that all the documents regarding the Hebron redeployment which had been presented to the cabinet had also been submitted to the Knesset.

"To the best of my knowledge, there is a letter from the US Secretary of State to Yasser Arafat. The US administration informed us that since Israel is not the one to whom this letter is addressed, it does not intend to present it to us," Naveh wrote.

However, the prime minister was briefed by US envoy Dennis Ross regarding the contents of this letter. A spokesman for the US State Department even clarified yesterday [Wednesday] in a statement which has also been submitted to the Knesset that "The guarantor's letters which Secretary Christopher intends forwarding to both sides, also relate to the process of further redeployments as Israel's responsibility, including its determining the specified military locations."

Labor Party Secretary-General Nissim Zivili told the plenum Arafat had written to Ross disputing Israel's interpretation of the term "military locations" and said the Palestinians consider this to mean military camps.

ABRAHAM

Continued from Page 4

Today, it is a military command post with spot lights, guard boxes, checkpoints, thick black electric cables, closed zones and other military paraphernalia.

The necessary security imperative of separating Jews and Moslems after that attack did not consider Arab feelings. The IDF placed restrictions on Arab movements to prevent revenge attacks against Jews. "The victims paid twice," said Mayor Mustafa Natshe.

The cave became the final issue when Yasser Arafat, mindful of his liberator role, raised his voice at the Erez summit on December 24 and demanded a role for Palestinian police there. "If you want to control Al-Ibrahimi Mosque, take Hebron, I don't want it," Arafat shouted at Netanyahu.

He got no more than he got from the Rabin government, which considered the cave only from the perspective of security, but promised to review its status three months after IDF redeployment.

Abraham, the source of so much political conflict in Hebron, has served Israeli-Arab peace elsewhere. Egypt's Anwar Sadat saw him as the source of Israeli-Arab cousinhood which justified recognition of Israel. Arafat too calls Jews and Arabs sons of Abraham in lighter moments.

SISTER

Continued from Page 4

being confiscated by the Turks. The building served the British as a police station, remand center and courthouse.

In 1893, the house today known as Beit Hadassah was built nearby and a second floor added in 1909. It housed a clinic, supported by the Hadassah Medical Organization, serving both Arabs and Jews.

By the time the British took over in 1918, the Jewish population in Hebron had dropped to 430, but it soon began to recover. The Slobodka yeshiva was moved there from Lithuania in 1925. By the 1929 riots, the Jewish population had risen to 700, out of a general population of 18,000.

On August 23, 1929, following rumors that Jews were going to attack the Aksha Mosque in Jerusalem, local Arabs devastated the Jewish community, slaughtering 67 people, and injuring more than 50. Fifty-nine of the victims were buried in a common grave in the Jewish cemetery, and the rest of survivors fled to Jerusalem. In 1931, 31 Jewish families returned and tried to reestablish the community, but in April 1936, fearing another massacre, the British evacuated the community.

Hebron was captured by the Jordanian Arab Legion in 1948. Jews were not permitted to visit or pray at the holy sites in the city. Furthermore, the Jordanians razed the Jewish quarter, desecrated the cemetery and built an animal pen on the ruins of the Avraham Avinu Synagogue.

Hebron fell to the IDF on June 8, 1967, a day after the fall of Jerusalem. Ten months later, Moshe Levinger led his group into the Park Hotel for Pessah, posing as tourists. After the holiday ended, they refused to leave. The government split over what to do with the settlers, and after a month of indecision, decided against evicting them. The group was temporarily allowed to remain in a military compound in Hebron, and in May 1970, the Knesset authorized the construc-

SHAHOR

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In biblical narratives, cousins generally remain on cordial terms by agreeing to go their own ways as equals, fathering their own nations, herding their own flocks. How that precedent will work in Hebron where two communities who currently feel only mutual contempt are now condemned to live side by side as good neighbors will have vast repercussions for the peace process as a whole.

Many non-Hebron Arabs consider Hebron a collection of mutually suspicious clans rather than a seedbed for Arafat's nationalism. They see the Jews there as potentially one more clan, more objectionable than most, less objectionable than others. But if local Jews become political equals, they might just fit into the city.

There are indications that in this totally unprecedented situation, new Jewish attitudes may also predominate. Many settlers, mostly in Kiryat Arba, have come to accept the new arrangements as a fait accompli and say they are the majority and want to improve Jewish-Muslim relations, work with the Hebron municipality on a local level, maybe even participate in local politics to secure their interests.

Their aspirations seem quixotic. As long as the more radical settlers believed there was a chance of revoking the Hebron decree, the moderates felt they should remain silent. Now their time has come.

tion of some 210 apartments on the outskirts of Hebron, to be known as Kiryat Arba.

The rationale for placing the settlement outside the city was to reduce contact and friction between the two sides.

Encyclopaedia Judaica put the 1967 population of Hebron - all of whom, except 106 Christians, were Moslems - at just over 38,000.

The first 105 homes in Kiryat Arba were ready in the fall of 1972. The settlement today has some 6,000 residents, and at its closest point is 750 meters from the Machpela Cave.

The Jewish community in Hebron itself was reestablished permanently in April 1979, when a group of women, led by Moshe Levinger's wife, Miriam Levinger, moved into Beit Hadassah in Hebron, property that was owned by Jews. Again after protracted negotiations, this time with the Begin government, the government allowed the settlers to stay.

In May 1980, the government decided in favor of the settlers after terrorists fired on yeshiva students in front of Beit Hadassah as the students returned from prayers at the cave. Six were murdered and 20 others injured in the attack. Begin agreed to refurbish Beit Hadassah and to permit Jews to live in the adjacent Beit Hason and Beit Schneerson buildings.

Since then, other Jewish properties, foremost Avraham Avinu and Beit Romano, have been refurbished or rebuilt.

In 1984, a handful of families moved into mobile homes at Tel Rumeida, one of the early Jewish quarters of the city, near the ancient Jewish cemetery. All other development was halted by then-defense minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Hebron fell to the IDF on June 8, 1967, a day after the fall of Jerusalem. Ten months later, Moshe Levinger led his group into the Park Hotel for Pessah, posing as tourists. After the holiday ended, they refused to leave. The government split over what to do with the settlers, and after a month of indecision, decided against evicting them. The group was temporarily allowed to remain in a military compound in Hebron, and in May 1970, the Knesset authorized the construc-

SAVIR

Continued from Page 11

There is also effective preventive action on their side. This isn't to say they can't do more. Even the Palestinians are not hermetic. Even when we were there there were problems. Some of our demands include that they do more. Regarding attacks, the situation is better. Lately they found, the cell which carried out the attack in Beit El.

When it comes to trust, what kind of effect did your dismissal from the peace negotiating team have on the Palestinian conception of the present government's willingness to make a deal?

I had finished the civilian agreement and there was no reason to reopen it. I could not have done more than I did and we were waiting for military agreement for its completion. Before this we couldn't have progressed with anything else.

But was there an echo of your dismissal in the following negotiations?

That is not the point. The civilian agreement was concluded. The military agreement was going on in parallel and it progressed. The conclusion of the civilian agreement created a momentum at the time. I can't say that we concluded it because I ceased being a part of it. I closed the matter. If there was some kind of change of guard in the middle then we could say something, but I had nothing to do with the military talks. I can't link the two.

What is the lesson that has to be learned from the affair of your dismissal for meeting with Shimon Peres?

There is nothing to learn. There have been reports of tensions between the General Staff and the political leadership. How do you see the relationship between the two?

It's clear that this is a sensitive point. I was trained for one thing and that was to do the mission. I served the state and served under various governments. I was given missions and I carried them out. This last mission I did as best I could, as many people, including the minister of defense, have said. This was what I had to do and what was expected of me. The military ranks carry out their jobs. If you ask me whether when I carried out the job there was involvement of the political echelon and if they heard my voice, the answer is yes. I felt, more than once, that the prime minister listened to what I had to say and that I had an influence. We had lots of talks, including private meetings, and he was party to everything. I had full backing when it came to concluding the agreement.

How do you see the negotiating abilities of the Palestinians?

What are the goals of the Palestinians? They want a Palestinian state. Arafat thinks he can achieve this goal and if not he knows that he has all sorts of alternatives including violence. He has repeatedly said he is operating on the model of Ben-Gurion - a struggle for independence and a willingness to sacrifice in order to reach this goal. But he understands that in a political dialogue this is not the right way. As long as he believes he will be able to reach them through political dialogue, trust and confidence improves. But they periodically raise the matter of an eruption of violence. They emerged strengthened from the use of violence in September.

Is a Palestinian state inevitable?

I can tell you that this is the desire of the Palestinian side. I can

tell you also, and I am not revealing a secret, that these are goals which they will compromise on. They can discuss the size, but this is their goal. From this perspective the light at the end of the tunnel is very bright and clear, and it has been this way throughout the negotiations. The interim agreement is a kind of a bridge which allows for a soft way of getting into the negotiations on the final arrangements. For us, this final arrangement needs to give us security.

The Palestinian question is the central one we are dealing with. They are scattered among us unlike other Arab nations. The Palestinians are the central topic for us and have an effect on our relations with the whole Arab world. The Palestinians among us have a lot of components including the Arabs of Israel, who are also, in some ways, Palestinians. It is not an either/or situation, but the heart of our problem of survival.

But are there other serious alternatives to a Palestinian state?

When you speak of alternatives you have to ask yourself what the Palestinians want. This is a political decision and I am not the one to deal with it. I can tell you, as one who knows the Palestinian question, what is important, and statehood is the thing they are yearning for. And there are two ways to reach it: the violent way or the development of a political dialogue.

How much did Arafat orchestrate the riots in September?

I don't think he intended for the incident to escalate as much as it did. But he had a lot of influence. The PA had a lot of influence over what happened in many places. It didn't totally lose control, but there were areas of chaos. There were areas where Arafat personally got involved, like at Joseph's Tomb, to prevent further bloodshed. The Palestinians feel that they emerged from the incident strengthened and Arafat's status improved significantly.

If the violence erupts again will the peace process be able to take it?

If it repeats itself it endangers the whole peace agreement. You have to understand that this is all

very finely balanced. It is based on a relationship of trust on one hand, and realizing that the joint interest is to continue with the dialogue on the other. I have no doubt that the use of violence clearly endangers the peace process because it is entirely based on mutual trust in Hebron and elsewhere.

What did the Palestinians lose because of the violence?

The use of violence certainly strengthened their sense of security. The problem is the use of violence which cannot always be controlled. I think that further acts of violence could totally destroy the peace agreement. It could bring about a total rift. If incidents [of violence] recur, they can bury the peace process. There is a paradoxical situation here. On one hand there is a danger of chaos as long as Arafat doesn't receive something. The sense among Palestinians is that they can use force and they will emerge with honor and achievements. But on the other hand, Arafat knows he is walking on a tightrope and that the wrong use of violence could cost all his achievements. He knows that he would be taking a great risk. He knows that the power is on the Israeli side in the end.

Are you saying that Arafat is very balanced?

Arafat knows that if he doesn't reach his goals he will take a step towards declaring a Palestinian state along the model of Ben-Gurion's [Jewish state]. But on the other hand he is aware of the dangers of this step. He doesn't want to lose. He has to navigate his people through this complex situation. The answer comes from life. Nothing is black and white. The use of violent tools against us is very dangerous for him and he is aware of the dangers.

You compare Arafat to David Ben-Gurion. Do you think Arafat has an element of greatness?

Arafat compares himself to Ben-Gurion, the person who established the Jewish state, knowing that using this model works well with us. There is a gap between him and the other leaders. There are others who are very acceptable, Abu Mazen for example. But Arafat behaves as one who sees himself as a leader who is leading his people to a state. He has a script and he uses Ben-Gurion as an example.

SAVIR

Continued from Page 11

Greater Jerusalem, along the old 1967 border, in areas surrounding Jewish settlements, training grounds and vital resources, such as the quarries in the Mount Hebron region. Savir stresses that Israel would not have agreed to automatic Palestinian authority, whether civilian control in Area B, or total authority as in Area A.

"The assessment would have been that we would have had a lot more than 20 percent of the territory [after the third redeployment]," he says. "We said that not every Area B turns into Area A and not every Area C [where Israel has full authority] turns into B."

Foreign Ministry officials say Savir was being generous in his appraisal. Then-foreign minister Ehud Barak, they recall, warned Peres that Israel must be in control of 90 percent of Judea and Samaria following the final further redeployment. "The idea was when the negotiations would arrive at a critical stage, we would have enough assets," a senior official says.

Savir says he and his colleagues had envisioned that Israel and the Palestinians would have advanced sufficiently in the negotiations on final status for each side to understand the other's conceptions. Final status talks were to have

begun in May 1996, which would have left 15 months to negotiate until the deadline for the third redeployment. By the time the deadline arrived, Savir says, Israel and the Palestinians would have been hard at work presenting maps and delineating borders that might have made the third redeployment unnecessary. Instead, both sides would have agreed on permanent borders.

This strategy was disputed within the Foreign Ministry, officials recall. Yossi Beilin, then deputy foreign minister, urged Peres to skip the interim arrangements and discuss the final status of the territories while Israel has assets with which to bargain. Beilin's concern, they say, was that the stronger Yasser Arafat became the less he would be willing to concede. Savir disagreed. He saw the Oslo agreements as a way to build trust with the Palestinians and friendships with the leadership that would follow Arafat. In the end, Peres agreed with Savir.

"Uri Savir, more than anybody else, understood the psychological element," a former colleague in the Foreign Ministry recalls. "He was a big believer in gradualism. At the same time, Peres and Rabin didn't want to do anything that would affect the final status so any time a problem arose they looked for gimmicks."

But there are those ridiculous him.

You should see what happens when he travels to a foreign country like France. There is a pilgrimage of all sorts of leaders. The transformation from the leader of a terror organization to the leader of the Palestinians is a great improvement to his image, and his image continues to improve all the time. There is no doubt that his opponents and those who criticize him see him as the leader of the Palestinians and the one who is guiding them to these very goals that we spoke about, and that is a Palestinian state.

As his stature grows does it bring a Palestinian state closer?

If you are asking me whether the Palestinians want a state the answer is yes. If you are asking me whether they have now what they never had before, the answer is also yes. Arafat was elected and there were fudges but he succeeded in convincing the international observers that the elections were democratic... compared to where we live in the world. If this will be what Arafat will call a Palestinian democracy, which is a conglomeration of a lot of things, the answer is yes.

You leave this task after a dynamic two years of change for the office. Can only a military person hold this position?

No, but there are benefits to a military person holding this job. You have the possibility of dealing with security matters and working with the regional commands and the security services. Also, the Palestinians respect military people. We are seen as military people, and civil servants and a major-general have to be supported.

After 32 years in the military and two years in this job, are you sorry to be leaving?

No. It was my personal decision. The minister of defense was interested in me continuing in the army, and made no small effort in trying to convince me to stay. But it was my own decision to leave. I believe one should leave at their peak. The Hebron deal is signed and I feel as if the circle is closed. I think this is the best opportunity to end and I am doing it wholeheartedly.

TODAY, however, the Palestinians are not taking chances, Savir says. They don't trust Netanyahu and worry that any concession might be his last. It's a far cry, he says, from when Arafat agreed to establish a council with only 3 percent of the West Bank under his control.

Savir does not criticize Netanyahu's attempts to slow down the Oslo process. Indeed, privately, several former aides of Peres and Rabin say Netanyahu's biggest mistake was his haste to pledge his commitment to Oslo and meet with Arafat. "What was Netanyahu's sin?" Savir asks. "It wasn't so bad that he wanted to slow Oslo down. But look at all the pressure that resulted: This [Netanyahu] government, with all of the changes it introduced, accepted Oslo," he says. "What I hope it learns is that there is a great difference if we lead or are being led. If the government says Oslo is dangerous and we can't proceed, I can understand, although I would not accept this."

Savir, however, warns against Netanyahu forming a strategy of trying to maneuver the Palestinians into torpedoing the Oslo accords. This would not free Israel from a backlash by the international community. The prime minister, Savir says, missed his best chance to scuttle Oslo after the Palestinian barries

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הפועל תל אביב

SPORTS

Maccabi cakewalks over Charleroi

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

First, the good news: Maccabi Tel Aviv finally routed a Euroleague opponent at Yad Eliahu last night, beating Belgium's Charleroi 87-70. The bad news? They should've won by 30 against a team that would have difficulty beating Yeshiva University on a bad night for YU.

Still lacking the killer instinct they'll need to go further in Euroleague play, Maccabi nonetheless got its first win in Group E play thanks to outstanding games by both Randy White and Buck Johnson. The victory gave Maccabi an overall 7-5 record in Euroleague play this season.

While it was great to see coach Zvi Sherf's club finally win a game at home, the opening minutes were certainly no laughing matter. Allowing the Belgians to shoot practically at will, Maccabi found itself down 13-7 after seven straight points by Charleroi's Ron Ellis.

Fortunately, someone reminded Doron Sheffer & Co. there was a basketball game

going on at Yad Eliahu, and Maccabi went on a 16-2 run, paced by Johnson and Sheffer. Johnson, back after being sorely missed with an illness last week vs. Alba, was silky smooth in the first half, especially on offense, as the Pink Panther glided to the hoop for 14 of his game-high 24 points.

When Sheffer took an elbow to the eye and had to get stitches, Derrick Sharp admirably replaced him, hitting a three-pointer to open up a 40-26 advantage for Maccabi.

Meanwhile, Charleroi played an offense that can only be described as bad school-yard ball, with players haphazardly chucking up three-pointers when the spirit moved them. The Belgians rarely challenged Maccabi's interior defense, and went off trailing 51-34 at halftime.

It's hard to imagine how Charleroi gave other Euroleague foes a game this season, and a sad commentary on the state of Euroleague play that they did. A colorless collection of older players, with no real point guard and not much of a game plan,

the Belgians were in the process of being folded, stapled and mailed back to Belgium at 65-42 when their secret weapon took hold: boredom.

Fans in the stands could hardly be blamed for dozing off while watching Charleroi's dull play, which never seemed to be going anywhere, particularly on offense. Apparently bored with the Belgians' mediocrity, Maccabi fell asleep at the switch. But before long, Charleroi had run off an 11-2 run on the sleepwalking home team, cutting Maccabi's lead to 72-60 and forcing Sherf to summon Sheffer—who did not start the game—back to the bench to provide a wake-up call for his troops.

It was White and Johnson, however, who injected some life into the listless Maccabi attack and defense. White (20 points, 13 rebounds, and three assists) particularly active with eight steals on the night. Sheffer rekindled Maccabi's running offense that had been so effective in the first half, and the Belgians reverted to their old, bland selves. Polish center Adam Wojcik had a brief

flurry towards the end of the game, but by then, anyone still at Yad Eliahu—and there weren't that many—could have cared less. The 87-70 final hardly reflected the vast difference in talent between the two clubs.

While the victory was important for both Maccabi's morale and the standings, there were still some serious problems. Tel Aviv area police are still searching for Nadav Henefeld, who was totally missing again on offense with just three points. Oded Katsah showed some flashes of his old self in the first half, but added just two points in the second. And wouldn't it have been nice—and totally within the club's potential when it was clicking on all cylinders—to have crushed the Belgians, a poor excuse for a Euroleague team, by some 40 points?

Nonetheless, the victory, achieved without Brad Leaf, was an important building block towards next week's showdown in Greece vs. Olympiakos, a match-up that could go far in determining who's a contender and who's a pretender in the race for the Final Four.

Rodman kicks courtside cameraman

MINNEAPOLIS (AP) — One moment he was the hustling, springing Dennis Rodman who fans admire. The next moment he was the reckless, unrepentant Rodman who also has become a liability.

After tumbling into a row of photographers, Rodman kicked a cameraman in the groin during the Chicago Bulls' 112-102 victory over the Minnesota Timberwolves on Wednesday night.

Eugene Amos was carried from the court on a stretcher before being treated at a hospital. Although Rodman said he didn't intend to hurt Amos or kick him in the groin, he scoffed at Amos's injury claim.

"I thought I hit him in the thigh, then all of a sudden he went back," Rodman said. "I said, 'What's wrong with you? I'm sorry I hit you.' Then all of a sudden he says, 'Get away from me.' All of a sudden he passed out. I'm like, 'Yeah, right.'"

"It's one thing to get hurt, but don't pretend you're more seriously hurt than you are."

Replays showed Rodman's kick caught Amos very high on the inside of the left thigh, and Wolves physician Sheldon Burns confirmed that Amos, an in-house cameraman, was kicked in the

groin. Amos was treated and released at the hospital, where he was interviewed by police.

"We took an assault report, listing Dennis Rodman as the suspect here," Lt. Sharon Lubinski said. "However, absolutely no charges have been filed and there hasn't been any contact with Dennis Rodman by Minneapolis police."

Reached at home early yesterday, Amos was emphatic when asked if he planned to file charges. "Most definitely," he said. "I feel hurt. I feel let down. I admired him. With everything, I just admired him. I'm sorry he felt that way (that Amos faked injury)."

Rodman said he twisted his ankle when he fell over Wolves photographer David Sherman, who was seated beside Amos. Rodman also said he intended to kick a small camera he said Amos had, although Amos was using a larger television camera to film Rodman's tumble.

"In the first place, the camera people are too close along the baseline," Rodman said. "All of a sudden, boom, I step on his camera. Any athlete will react the same. I stepped and twisted my ankle, and then I kicked the guy. I don't care who it was. He doesn't need to be that close."



SCENE OF THE CRIME — Dennis Rodman stands over cameraman Eugene Amos after kicking him. (AP)

EASTERN CONFERENCE				
Atlantic Division				
	W	L	Pct	GB
New York	27	10	.730	—
Miami	26	10	.722	.4
Washington	18	17	.528	7.5
Orlando	15	18	.454	10
Boston	9	25	.265	16.5
New Jersey	9	25	.265	16.5
Philadelphia	8	26	.232	18.5
Central Division				
	W	L	Pct	GB
Chicago	33	4	.892	—
Detroit	27	9	.750	5.5
Atlanta	23	11	.676	8.5
Cleveland	21	14	.600	11
Charlotte	21	16	.568	12
Milwaukee	18	17	.514	14
Indiana	17	18	.486	15
Toronto	12	24	.333	20.5
WESTERN CONFERENCE				
Midwest Division				
	W	L	Pct	GB
Houston	28	9	.757	—
Utah	24	12	.667	3.5
Minnesota	16	21	.432	12
Dallas	12	22	.353	14.5
San Antonio	9	26	.257	18
Denver	9	26	.257	18
Vancouver	7	31	.184	21.5
Pacific Division				
	W	L	Pct	GB
L.A. Lakers	28	10	.737	—
Seattle	27	11	.711	1
Portland	20	18	.556	7
Sacramento	15	22	.421	12
Golden State	14	23	.380	13
L.A. Clippers	14	22	.389	13
Phoenix	13	24	.351	14.5

WEDNESDAY'S RESULTS:
Golden State 123, Philadelphia 111
Charlotte 116, New Jersey 104
Chicago 112, Minnesota 102
Orlando 78, Dallas 66
New York 94, San Antonio 77
Seattle 122, Toronto 78
Detroit 103, Vancouver 79
Indiana 108, L.A. Clippers 93

SCOREBOARD

NHL — Wednesday's results: Pittsburgh 3, Hartford 0; Buffalo 2, N.Y. Islanders 1; Los Angeles 3, Toronto 2; Ottawa 5, Washington 1; St. Louis 4, Phoenix 1; Colorado 4, Tampa Bay 2; Calgary 2, Anaheim 1; Edmonton 4, Florida 0.

Sampras, Courier struggle to advance; women's seeds breeze on through

MELBOURNE (Reuters) — Former men's champions Jim Courier and Pete Sampras struggled for form in the Australian Open yesterday as the top women sailed into the third round.

World number one Sampras conceded he had entered the danger zone of the \$7.6 million grand slam tournament after a hesitant four-set win over Romanian Adrian Panu. Courier had five bruising sets against Slava Dosedel of the Czech Republic.

Sampras said he felt out of sorts at the start of his centre court struggle with 48th ranked Panu, who played with nothing to lose.

"I didn't play too well," top seed Sampras said after pulling himself together to wrap up the match 3-6, 6-2, 6-3, 6-2 with 14 aces.

He now faces in-form Australian Mark Woodforde, a semifinalist here last year, for a place in the final 16.

Woodforde, who has an impressive list of upset wins over the past 12 months, hopes to repeat the feat of compatriot Mark Philippoussis who last year knocked Sampras out of the Open in the third round.

Courier, a former world No. 1 climbing back up the rankings after a disappointing 1996, was at his belligerent best in a three-and-a-half hour tussle with Dosedel, ranked world No. 67.

By contrast, third-seeded Croat Goran Ivanisevic needed only 89 minutes to dispose of Karol Kucera of Slovakia 6-4 6-2 6-2 in a night match.

Fifth seed Thomas Muster of Austria and Spanish 10th seed Albert Costa also powered into the third round in straight sets, as did the top women's seeds.

Swiss Martina Hingis and eighth seed Irina Spirlea were both straight sets winners, while second seed Arantxa Sanchez Vicario did not have time to raise a sweat before her opponent retired hurt.

Sanchez Vicario was a game ahead three minutes into the match when Belgian Stephanie de Ville twisted an ankle and was taken from the court in a wheelchair.

Germany's Anke Huber, whose



GIVE IT YOUR BEST SHOT — Swiss tennis star Martina Hingis prepares to return service to opponent Lisa Raymond.

mother added her name to the injury list when she mysteriously collapsed here on Wednesday, also won through, although Italy's

Francesca Lubiani gave the world No. 5 a fright by taking the first set 6-4.

Hingis, a multi-millionaire at 16, said she played "almost perfect tennis" in the second set against American Lisa Raymond to triumph 6-4 6-2.

Hapoel Tel Aviv still not sold

By ORI LEWIS

The off-again on-again sale of Hapoel Tel Aviv soccer club is off again.

The Histadrut, which is trying to sell off a major liability in the shape of what was once the pride and joy of the workers' organization's sporting prowess, has been

unable to decide on the sale.

Not that there is a shortage of takers. A deal was just about to be signed on Wednesday night between the Histadrut and a group of investors from England represented by a former Hapoel player, Nimrod Dreyfus. However, at the last moment, a new offer from a Haifa contractor arrived with an

undertaking to buy the club immediately. Dreyfus's offer is to take control of the club now, with an option to buy at the end of the season.

One thing which is certain is the termination of coach Moshe Sinai's contract. Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz and treasurer Shmuel Avital have

announced that Sinai, who has been a permanent fixture at the club for some two decades, first as a player and then as coach and manager, will end his employment at the club on Sunday, as none of the prospective buyers are interested in his services.

Sinai's golden handshake is said to be worth some NIS 2 million.

India fights to 233 for 3 on first day of third Test

Rahul Dravid and Saurav Ganguly combined for an unbeaten 133-run fourth wicket partnership yesterday to lead India to 233 for three on the first day of the third Test against host South Africa.

India needed a strong start after losing the first two Tests, and the series, to South Africa.

After winning the toss and choosing to bat, the visitors crawled to 100 for three until Dravid and Ganguly began their stand and piled up runs, helped by several drops and loose bowling by South Africa.

Dravid finished the day at 81 not out while Ganguly had an unbeaten 68.

The first hour of play produced only 18 runs and the second 23 as India lost opener Vikram Rathore at 13 when he was caught behind off a delivery by spin bowler Paul Adams, who turns 20 next week.

Paceman Allan Donald then bowled Nayan Mongia just after lunch and South African captain Hansie Cronje induced Indian skipper Sachin Tendulkar into a slice caught by Brian McMillan, leaving India in trouble.

Dravid, who had 34 runs in almost two-and-a-half hours, was joined by Ganguly and the pair put some life in the Indian batting.

In total command in the final session, Dravid reached his fourth Test 50 with seven boundaries off

133 deliveries, while Ganguly raced to his second 50 in eight Tests off only 89 balls that included 10 fours and a six.

Donald, the most dominant South African bowler, left the pitch before stumps with cramps in both halves.

South Africa won the first two Tests of India's visit, avenging a series loss in India at the end of last year.

The lineups were nearly identical to the second Test in Cape Town, with India making the only change by replacing opener Woorkeri Raman with Rathore.

India first innings
R. Dravid c Richardson 113
S. Ganguly b Donald 68
S. Tendulkar c McMillan b Cronje 38
G. Ganguly not out 21
Extras (46 7 0 4w) 57
Total (for 3 wickets) 233 — 90 overs.
Fall of wickets: 1/25 2/49 3/100.
Bowling:
Donald 18.1-6-4-4 (2w)
Pollock 19.7-38-0 (5w)
McMillan 14.5-5-24-6
Kusner 16.4-7-0 (2w)
Adams 14.4-7-0
Cronje 8.4-19-1

Australia-Pakistan
Fast bowler Anthony Stuart claimed a hat-trick as host Australia salvaged some pride with a thrilling three-wicket victory over Pakistan in their World Series limited overs match yesterday.

Stuart, playing in only his third one-day match for his country, dismissed Ijaz Ahmed, Mohammad Wasim and wicket-keeper Moiz Khan in successive balls as part of a five-wicket haul.

Chasing Pakistan's total of 181 for nine in 50 overs, left-hander Michael Bevan helped steer Australia to 182 for seven with three balls to spare, ending a run of five straight losses in the triangular competition.

Bevan scored an unbeaten and highly controlled 79 from 142 balls to ensure that Stuart's outstanding figures of five for 26 from 10 overs were not wasted.

The lucky New South Wales paceman became only the second Australian bowler — and the 12th in the world — to take a hat-trick in a limited overs international.

But the victory came too late for Australia, which failed to qualify for the final as hosts in their worst performance in one-day cricket at home for 17 years in terms of results.

Pakistan and West Indies will face each other in the best-of-three final, starting in Sydney tomorrow. (AP, Reuters)

World Series standings				
Team	P	W	NR	Pct
Australia	3	3	0	1.0
Pakistan	2	2	1	.667
West Indies	1	1	2	.333
South Africa	0	0	3	.000

Ashkelon looks to stretch lead over Second Division rivals

By ORI LEWIS

Second Division leaders Hapoel Ashkelon take center stage for the second week in a row as they attempt to bolster their chances of gaining a promotion spot to the National League today.

Ashkelon takes on second-placed Hakoah Ramat Gan at home this afternoon as the National League sits out the second week of its mid-winter break.

The Ashkelonians are sure to have a major turnout for the match, they are one of the best-supported teams in the country and at last week's away fixture against Ironi Ashdod, they had more supporters in the ground — around 4,000 — than the home team.

The police will be especially vigilant at Ashkelon's home ground to ensure that there are no incidents reminiscent of last week's in Ashdod. At that match, 10 people were injured when they fell through an asbestos roof of an

abandoned fire station.

In other fixtures of interest, bottom side Hapoel Hadera will try to escape the relegation zone when it takes on fellow-strugglers Maccabi Jaffa, while third-placed Ironi Ashdod travels to another side in dire straits, Hapoel Kiryat Shmona.

National League teams return to action next weekend in the eighth round of the State Cup, the league will resume in two weeks' time.

This weekend's Second Division fixtures:

Team	P	W	D	L	GF	GA	Diff	Pts
Hapoel Ashkelon	14	10	1	3	20	9	11	31
Hakoah Ramat Gan	14	8	3	3	28	13	15	27
Ironi Ashdod	14	7	5	2	23	14	9	26
Maccabi Netanya	14	7	4	3	24	17	7	25
Hapoel Bat Yam	14	6	4	4	20	12	8	22
Maccabi Kfar Kana	14	6	3	5	18	20	-4	21
Maccabi Kiryat Gat	14	5	5	4	11	15	-4	20
Hapoel Ashdod	14	5	4	5	21	17	4	19
Hapoel Ramat Gan	14	4	6	4	14	11	3	18
Maccabi Acre	14	4	5	5	18	18	-3	17
Betar Tel Aviv	14	4	4	6	14	19	-5	16
Ness Ziona	14	4	3	7	18	22	-4	15
Maccabi Jaffa	14	3	4	7	17	21	-4	13
Maccabi Yavne	14	4	1	9	15	25	-10	13
Hapoel Kiryat Shmona	14	2	5	7	10	22	-12	11
Hapoel Hadera	14	1	7	6	10	17	-7	10

tures, all matches today at 2:30 pm unless otherwise stated: Hapoel Bat Yam v. Maccabi Acre, Bat Yam 2 pm; Hapoel Ashkelon v. Hakoah Ramat Gan, Ashkelon; Hapoel Kiryat Shmona v. Ironi Ashdod, Kiryat Shmona tomorrow 2:30 pm; Maccabi Netanya v. Batet Tel Aviv, Netanya; Maccabi Kfar Kana v. Maccabi Kiryat Gat, Kfar Kana; Maccabi Jaffa v. Hapoel Hadera, Gam Stadium, Jaffa; Hapoel Ashdod v. Maccabi Yavne, Ashdod tomorrow 2:30 pm; Hapoel Ramat Gan v. Ness Ziona, Crater Ground, Ramat Gan tomorrow 2:30 pm.

Rain eases drought

By DAVID RUDGE

The winter drought was broken yesterday, as rain accompanied by isolated thunderstorms swept most of the country, causing flooding in many places and long delays on the roads.

Flash floods closed the road to the Dead Sea from Nahal Kidron southwards for part of the day, and flooding also effected low areas in the Judean Desert, the Arava, and the Negev.

Scores of road accidents were attributed to the weather, which included heavy early morning fog on many roads, especially on hills in the North.

Despite the disruptions, the heavy rainfall - which turned to snow on Mt. Hermon - was warmly welcomed by farmers and all those concerned about the country's depleted water resources.

The level of Lake Kinneret, which has remained stable for the past month, rose by two centimeters yesterday as a result of precipitation in the region.

"Rain after a such a long dry period is a blessing," said Shlomo Bahaloul, deputy director of the Lake Kinneret Authority. "It is somewhat late in coming but very welcome, and the answer to our prayers, given the state of the Kinneret until now."

"We have enough in the lake at the moment to meet requirements for the coming year, but that would bring the water level down to the low-level mark. We can only hope and pray that there will be more rain in the coming weeks to make up the deficit in the level of water in the lake at the moment," said Bahaloul. The weather also proved a boon



Anat enjoys Tel Aviv's first real downpour of the season yesterday.

(Israel Sun)

for the Mt. Hermon ski site at Neveh Ativ, which is to open today for the first time this season - a month later than usual.

By yesterday afternoon the snow had piled up to a height of over 30 cms at the peak of the mountain and more than 10 cms on the

lower slopes. Staffers said this is still insufficient for proper skiing, but hoped this would be the start of a cold, wet winter.

Two killed on roads in the North

By DAVID RUDGE

Two people were killed and two others injured in separate road accidents during stormy weather in the North yesterday.

The first occurred around 6 a.m., when a mini-bus drove off a road in the Golan Heights and plunged over a cliff, killing the driver, who was alone.

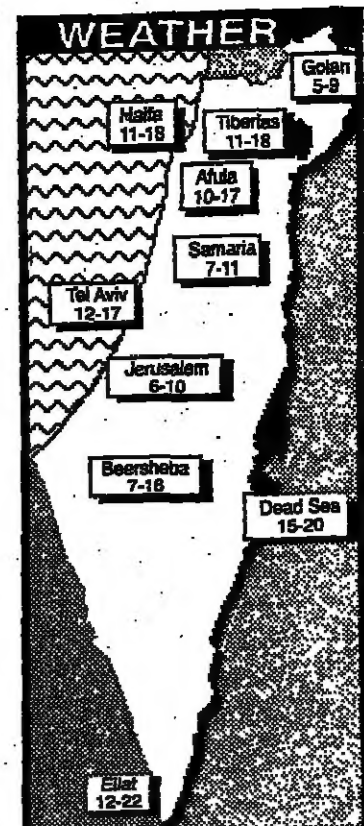
He was identified as Alsayyid Ahmed Hussam, 22, of Masa'ada village. The accident occurred on the road from Masa'ada towards

Kiryat Shmona at the turnoff to another Druse village, Ein Kniyeh.

Later in the afternoon, two vehicles collided on the road between the Golan and Amiad junctions, near the turnoffs to Migdal and Maghar.

Police said a van collided with a car. The car driver, Haim Levy, 46, of Afeka, was killed and two people in the van were lightly injured.

Yesterday's deaths brought to 32 the number of people killed on the roads so far this month - 16 of them this week.



Forecast: Partly cloudy, slight rise in temperatures.
Shabbat: Partly cloudy to clear, gradual rise in temperatures.

AROUND THE WORLD

	Low	F	C	High	Notes
Berlin	-05	23	-10	41	clear
Calcutta	05	28	10	46	clear
Frankfurt	-01	27	-7	40	cloudy
London	-01	27	-7	40	cloudy
Manila	01	31	10	48	rain
New York	-05	28	-10	41	clear
Paris	-01	27	-7	40	clear
Toronto	-05	28	-10	41	snow
Vancouver	-05	28	-10	41	cloudy

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